"AH KNOW WHIT LIKE AN 'OOR IS":
THE MEANING OF TIME IN A SCOTTISH LOWLAND COMMUNITY.

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ABSTRACT.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the form which time takes for the inhabitants of an ex-mining village in the Central Lowlands of Scotland. It constitutes an ethnography of a community in an area of Britain which, in the past, has been largely ignored by social anthropologists.

This study of an economically depressed industrial community located in a rural environment allows for the investigation of a range of issues which are especially relevant in terms of current high unemployment throughout much of the U.K. Throughout the thesis comparisons are made with other studies of working-class culture in Britain.

It is based on data gathered during almost four years of fieldwork (1982-86), using participant-observation, questionnaires, interviews and a time and money budget survey (all of which are described in Chapter 2).

The collection and analysis of data was informed largely by four types of literature (reviewed in Chapter 2). This deals with the nature of the phenonenon of time, time as represented in various societies, the nature of communities, and the relationship between time, work and leisure.

Part 2 of the thesis focusses on time in Western society, examining the historical development of our representation and evaluation of time, and the ways in which we organise social time in particular (Chapter 3).

Part 3 deals with "Cauldmoss" itself and time in this community. The general ethnography of the village in Chapter 4 describes the historical development of the settlement, and then the current situation. The latter includes examination of: employment and unemployment in the village; images inhabitants hold of the community; the importance of convention; the role of the family and peer groups in inculcating values; attitudes towards alternative value-systems (including those presented by the mass media); different social groups and institutions in Cauldmoss; kinship, marriage and sexual morality, and education, religion and politics in the village.

Chapter 5 explores the relationship between linearity and cyclicity in villagers' approach to time, and the stress laid on regularity. It is noted that time is experienced as embedded in activities, rather than in an abstract form, although some villagers

demonstrate an awareness of time as a thing in itself. Their beliefs about fate and luck are discussed, with superstition being seen as an attempt to order and control events.

Chapter 6 deals with particular aspects of time important in family life and work in Cauldmoss. It considers ways in which the past enters into the present, principally through storytelling and photography. Life-cycle ordering in Cauldmoss is examined, especially attitudes towards the young and the elderly, and the extent to which villagers celebrate events is investigated. A case-study of a wedding is presented, and analysed as a rite of passage.

Chapter 6 also discusses the extent of routine (and routinised variation) in this community, looking both at informant's behaviour and their experiences. It considers the extent to which villagers plan ahead, or concentrate on the immediate, and the degree to which they value an imposed time structure, such as that provided by work. The juxta-position of work and leisure is explored, as is the experience of time among the unemployed in Cauldmoss. A detailed case-study is presented as an appendix.

The central theme of the thesis is time seen as an ordering principle. Meaning depends on the relationship which exists between discrete items of experience, and time emerges in Cauldmoss as a rule-governed phenomenon which creates boundaries around events and activities and provides a medium in which they may be inter-related.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DECLARATION.

Without the co-operation and support of the people of "Cauldmoss", this thesis would not have been possible. I wish to thank them here, especially those who remained interested, despite their belief that there was little point to the project. I also wish to acknowledge the help given to me by the members of the Department of Social Anthropology of the University of Edinburgh (both staff and students), especially by Dr. Mary Noble.

Daniel Wight, my co-fieldworker, appears regularly in the pages that follow, which reflects the vital part he played in collecting material on Cauldmoss, and in helping me to clarify my ideas about it. More than that, he has remained a good friend and a real source of inspiration. The latter is also true of Michael Farrell, my companion while "writing-up". (He it was who pointed out the important distinction between "an 'oor" and "a hoor".)

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Having acknowledged the contribution of all the above, I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and is my own work.

PART ONE:
INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY.

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER TWO - INVESTIGATING CAULDMOSS: METHODS AND METHODOLOGY.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION.

" What are ye, actually?"

In July 1982, on the third day after my colleague, Daniel Wight, and I moved to our fieldwork site - an ex-mining village in the Scottish Lowlands, which I shall call "Cauldmoss" - Wight had a late-night encounter with a group of young men (including our next-door neighbours, whom I shall call "Billy" and "Rab"). Coming out of the only public telephone box in Cauldmoss (right at the centre of the council housing scheme), Wight was addressed by one of the skinheads, Jim: "We know who ye are - D.S. [Drug Squad]." In evidence, he cited the interest we had shown earlier in our neighbours' description of the different substances that they use. He also referred to the fact that Wight and I had not done any of the research we claimed to be there to carry out, and that, in any case, we had not been very clear about what exactly it was we were aiming to do in Cauldmoss. Wight denied that we were undercover police agents, and began talking about our interest in unemployment in the village. "Ye said ye wis studyin' the history", Jim interrupted, so Wight explained the importance of knowing about the past in trying to understand current ideas. "That's right", interjected another lad helpfully, "Ye've got tae know the past, the present an' the future". The other skinhead, Drew, was not satisfied: "What are ye, actually?" he demanded. When Wight replied that we were anthropologists Jim asked accusingly why we had not said that originally. Wight asked what he would have thought if we had said "We're anthropologists" straight away. Billy, who had just arrived, said, "Ah'd hiv' thought ye was one o' those guys that cut hedges in all funny shapes".

Apart from demonstrating the problems involved for the researcher in establishing her/his identity and role in the field, this conversation is significant in terms of ideas about time in Cauldmoss on two counts. Firstly, the comment made here about the importance of considering the past, the present and the future when examining a phenomenon is noteworthy because it is of a type rarely heard in Cauldmoss. (These young men themselves, with their use of drugs, actually formed a small minority in the community as a whole.) There, as elsewhere in British society, outside of the academic sphere, statements of abstract analysis are infrequent, especially about a phenomenon as elusive as time. Aphorisms concerning time, on the other hand, are much more common in Cauldmoss. Secondly, the lad's impression that we had come to investigate the history of the village (an impression that was shared by many inhabitants), suggests the extent to which past events are seen as important by people in Cauldmoss.

My decision to focus on time in Cauldmoss reflects a desire to understand more precisely the way in which past, present and future interact in the collective consciousness of this community. The study of time could, in theory, encompass all aspects of life in Cauldmoss, since they occur in time. The challenge is to reduce a mass of information and a plethora of research areas to a coherent and interesting exposition of selected features of this wide-ranging topic.

Background to the thesis.

Between June 1982 and October 1983, and again between October 1984 and October 1985, Wight and I were employed as Research Associates on two projects funded by the (then) Social Science Research Council and administered by the Social Anthropology Department of Edinburgh University. The initial period of research tackled the issues of "Work and Non-work in a Small Scottish Lowlands Town" (See Turner, Bostyn and Wight 1984) and the second project investigated "The Moral Implications of Unemployment and the Hidden Economy in a Scottish Village" (Noble, Bostyn and Wight 1986). Both were based on extensive fieldwork in Cauldmoss, which provided the material Wight and I have used in compiling our theses on separate aspects of life in the village. (I shall provide more information on these projects and on our methods in Chapter Two.) The titles of these projects indicate that our prime concern, in terms of our commitment to the SSRC, was the effects of high unemployment on this relatively isolated, stable and homogeneous community of approximately 1800 people. This involved examining the way work and other activities are defined and evaluated there, and the extent to which the lack of jobs has modified traditional values and behaviour, both throughout the community as a whole and amongst the members of certain subgroups which can be identified within it: men and women; young and old; middle and working- class; employed and unemployed, etc.

My interest in time as a focus of study developed as a result of comments made by informants in response to questions aimed at uncovering their ideas about, and experience of, work and unemployment. For example, individuals frequently compared the current situation with that of the 1930s, and sometimes speculated on what unemployment will be like in ten or twenty years time. They often referred to the feelings of boredom and frustration that tend to accompany unemployment, and some people described the changes in the perception of time itself produced by joblessness. My decision to concentrate on time was also prompted by the fact that this is a subject matter frequently examined by anthropologists, although it usually forms part of descriptions of cultures which appear more "alien" to readers in our society than does Cauldmoss. There have been relatively

few anthropological studies of cultures which may be described as being our own or similar to our own, and fewer still have considered ideas about time in any depth. (I shall mention those studies which have been carried out in this area in my review of the literature in Chapter Two.) My aim here, as we shall see in the following subsection, is to offer material and try to fill this gap to some extent. The fact that I am focussing on time also reflects an abiding interest on my part in this phenonenon as one aspect of the human propensity to create order in, and control over, the environment.

In line with most other writers, I intend to use the expression "the concept of time" in a general sense, to refer to a demonstrated familiarity with this phenomenon in any of the ways in which it is known in this society. To put it more simply: I mean to consider a range of ideas about time, both "philosophical" ideas about what time is, and, more pertinently, beliefs about the form and significance of time.

While my own analytical concern with time is not shared by many of my contacts in Cauldmoss, or by many within the larger society to which we belong, academics who write about time frequently refer to what A.A. Mendilow describes as, "the time-obsession of the twentieth century" (1976: 69). It is important to note that by "time" such writers tend to mean clock and calendar time, which is only one aspect of the phenonenon as a whole. As I shall explain in Chapter Two of this thesis, the study of time in general encompasses three interrelated areas: physical, social and experiential time. My prime concern is with the second aspect of time as it occurs in Cauldmoss, although this entails some discussion of the other areas mentioned.

Much of what has been written about time in various disciplines is sometimes difficult to assess largely because its author fails to make clear exactly which form of time is being referred to. Some accounts also lack precision in regard to terms such as "measurement" "conception", "perception", "awareness", "experience", "evaluation", and "meaning". I hope to achieve some measure of clarity by considering both the different aspects of time and the terminology applied to this phenonenon in more detail in the following chapter.

Aims and objectives of the thesis.

The overall aim of this thesis is to uncover the form which time takes for the inhabitants of Cauldmoss. Six objectives are outlined below, not, however, in order of importance:

1) One objective is to present a detailed ethnographic record of a community in an area of

Scotland which up until now has been largely ignored by anthropologists, in favour of the Scottish Highlands and Islands. In this, my thesis complements that of Wight which focusses on attitudes towards work, money and consumption in Cauldmoss (Wight 1987). Like many mining settlements, Cauldmoss is a predominantly working- class community located in a rural setting several miles from a large connurbation. It is situated within the industrial "central belt" of Scotland, an area which has experienced severe unemployment during the late 1970s and early eighties. As a result, Cauldmoss displays features associated with both urban and rural settings in Britain. While they have not devoted much attention to this particular ethnographic area, anthropologists (in common with sociologists) have dealt with working- class communities, both in the countryside and in the inner cities, in other parts of Britain. Several sociologists, and a small number of anthropologists, have specifically considered the effects of unemployment on such communities. In presenting an ethnography of Cauldmoss, one of my aims is to compare and contrast such findings with my own where this is appropriate.

This objective is subsidiary to the second and most important one:

2) This is to investigate the meaning of time in Cauldmoss. In doing so, I shall look at the ways in which it is used and evaluated by the inhabitants. What part does time play in their lives, both on an everyday and on a longer term basis? How does it help them make sense of, or order, their activities? What does time "look like" for them? To what extent are they concerned with time as an abstract concept? How far is time experienced as an aspect of activities and events rather than as a thing in itself? How much use is made of physical time indictators? What are the characteristics of villagers' socio-temporal frameworks, in terms of the outer limits of these frameworks and their internal structure? Do various subgroups in the community share the same basic framework, or, if not, to what extent do they differ?

Although anthropologists writing about small-scale societies in other parts of the world usually include some description and analysis of the time-concept of the culture in question, few of those who have worked in Britain have given much attention to this area. While there are various writers (from a variety of disciplines) who deal specifically with time in our society, they tend to take a macro-level approach, usually in fact discussing time in western society as a whole. There are only a few studies, of any type, which focus solely on time in one particular community in Britain. While referring to work from all of the categories above, it is my intention to try and fill this gap.

3) This main objective involves consideration of a number of specific subsidiary issues. For example, among those dealing with time as one aspect of modern British culture, several point to differences between the approach to time taken by those belonging to different classes. Richard Hoggart, for example, writing of the working-class in the north of England in the 1950s, says that the

> . . . nature of working-class life puts a premium on the taking of pleasures now, discourages planning for some future goal, or in the light of some ideal. . . their life is one of the immediate present to a degree not often found among other classes (Hoggart 1958: 133).

More recently, Bernice Martin, basing her account on observation of the working-class since the 1950s, states that "the old sociological chestnut that claims the working-classes are characterised by a desire for 'immediate gratification' is only a 'half-truth'" (Martin 1981: 70). This, (like "the equally misunderstood atmosphere of warmth and togetherness" of the working-class, as noted by the "middle-class observer" [ibid: 71]) is actually a feature of "the liminal moments in working-class life", rather than "a global characteristic of working-class culture" (ibid). The middle-class, too, she points out, display a pattern of time-use including similar periods of "liminal excess" (ibid: 75). Apart from such periods, "the cultural vocabulary of both classes is that of boundary and control" (ibid), and the real distinction between these groups lies in the fact that, while for both "the internal differentiation of the spaces and times of domestic life is well developed", it tends to be "more variable in its pattern" among the middle-class (ibid:75).

With these comments in mind, I intend to explore the degree to which villagers appear to prefer immediate, rather than delayed gratification, and also the degree of routine and variety in their time-patterns. While the majority of the inhabitants of Cauldmoss, who live in council houses and have manual jobs, are working-class, there are a minority who may be described as middle-class - owner-occupiers often having white-collar jobs. This allows me to consider to some extent whether the differences suggested by Hoggart and Martin exist in Cauldmoss.

4) More generally, I wish to investigate the ways in which the data on time in Cauldmoss can contribute to an understanding of the nature of meaning. Douglas (1966) suggests that meaning depends on classification and the maintenance of boundaries, while Sperber (1975) emphasises the importance of the perceived relationship between elements of one's environment. To what extent do ideas about time (and about ways of using time) found in Cauldmoss support these claims?

5) Some writers on unemployment (for example, Gershuny and Pahl [1980] and Dauncey [1983]) have suggested that the continued absence of work on a large scale may lead to a re-evaluation of this activity and others related to it, especially leisure. The new attitudes towards the use of time (and therefore towards time itself) which they envisage, are similar to descriptions of behaviour and ideas found in pre-industrial societies. These include both contemporary small-scale societies in the third world, and our own society during earlier historical periods. In both cases it appears that the distinction between work and non-work is/was less clear cut, and that there is/was less emphasis on the linear progression of time as opposed to its cyclicity, to the repetition of events and activities. Such societies tend(ed) to display greater flexibility as to the temporal location and duration of activities than is the case in our own "clock-bound" culture.

I have noted that much has already been written on work and unemployment in Britain as a whole, and that this is a key area of Wight's work on Cauldmoss. While the relationship between time and work is a major element of this thesis, it is not its primary subject matter. I shall approach this relationship by considering the historical development of ideas about time, and about the ways in which it should be used, in the West. This is partly in order to provide background for my analysis of time in Cauldmoss today, but also in order to assess, using my findings on Cauldmoss, the claims of those who believe that in the current "post-industrial age" new values are emerging which are reminiscent of those current in an earlier age, or in contemporary simple societies.

6) Another subsidiary aim is to consider the relative merits of qualitative and quantitative methods in the investigation of values in a community. While psychologists and sociologists claim that the latter provide valuable insights into the attitudes, as well as the behaviour, of individuals and groups, the increasing additional use of more qualitative approaches in both disciplines reflects a growing recognition of the importance of long-term observation of one's subjects as a means of verifying quantitative findings. While the latter may be profitably used in the investigation of **behaviour** in terms of time use, I want to consider the extent to which they help in the uncovering of **ideas** about the somewhat "slippery" concept of time.

Structure of the thesis.

Having set out my objectives, I shall go on in Chapter Two to decribe in more detail the basis on which Wight and I began our work in Cauldmoss, and the methodology I have adopted in this thesis. In reviewing the various types of literature which I found useful I shall begin with a discussion of the nature of time in general. In considering the different forms taken by time I shall briefly explore attempts which have been made to determine the extent to which our own concept of time is shared by other societies. Rather than presenting a detailed account of particular enthographic descriptions of time in this section, I intend to refer to relevant anthropological writing at various points throughout the thesis. I shall also review the literature on the concept of community, and on studies of communities in Britain, and shall then look at work on particular forms of time use, specifically work and leisure. The second part of Chapter Two deals with the methods Daniel Wight and I adopted in the field.

Part Two (Chapter Three) focusses on time in the West, beginning with an examination of the historical development of the Western concept of time, including an analysis of the relationship between time and work. This leads on to a critical appraisal of the various models or typologies which have been put forward for the analysis of the features of social time in modern society.

Part Three opens with a general description of Cauldmoss in Chapter Four - its geography, history, demography, information about employment and unemployment there, the nature of Cauldmoss as a community, its social structure, and institutions and organisations in the village. Chapters Five and Six deal specifically with time in Cauldmoss. In Chapter Five I shall first of all consider the extent of, and interrelation between, linearity and cyclicity in villagers' approach to time. I shall then look at the ways in which villagers indicate an awareness of time. This is followed by a survey of the vocabulary of time used in Cauldmoss and of some of the sayings concerning time which are current there. This leads on to an investigation of villagers' concepts of fate and luck.

In Chapter Six, after a brief examination of the temporal factors involved in friendship, I shall concentrate on aspects of time as embodied in family life. I shall begin by considering the ways in which villagers use time to organise their experiences, firstly by relating the present to the past, and secondly in terms of its role in the evaluation of ongoing events and experiences. This involves an examination of kinship, storytelling, and the use of photography, diaries and calenders. I shall then go on to look at aspects of life-cycle ordering in this community. This involves consideration of the events which mark the

progress of an individual through the different stages of life - birth, starting and leaving school, getting a job, marriage, having children, divorce, retirement, death, etc. (I shall include a detailed case-study of a wedding.) It also entails some investigation of the inhabitants' attitude towards those occupying particular positions within the life-cycle, especially the young and the elderly.

From here, I shall move on to look in more detail at the degree of routine (including periodic breaks from routine) in villagers' lives. In this section I shall refer to material gathered using quantitative methods (data presented in detail in Appendix Three). This allows further analysis of possible differences existing between the various subgroups within the community. This leads on to an exploration of the concept of planning, and of the extent to which villagers can be said to think ahead. I shall also consider the amounts of time the inhabitants give to various activities, particularly to work and leisure. I will conclude Chapter Six by considering the relationship between these activities, focussing especially on the experience of time by the unemployed in Cauldmoss.

Part Four contains a summary of the thesis and my conclusions (Chapter Seven). I also include appendices, the first of which is a detailed case study which I feel is one of the most important sections of this thesis. It illustrates many of the themes I discuss in Chapters Five and Six, showing how time enters into various aspects of one particular individual's experience and behaviour. The second appendix consists of a genealogy of one particular family, while Appendix Three contains the two questionnaires Wight and I used, the time and money-budget diary forms, and detailed information on the methods and results of these techniques.

CHAPTER TWO
INVESTIGATING CAULDMOSS: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS.

Introduction.

In this chapter, I intend to discuss my methodology in more detail and to consider the methods I used in trying to achieve my aims. Inevitably, there will be a degree of overlap in the treatment of these two aspects. The chapter will be divided into four sections. I shall begin by describing our initial project in Cauldmoss, in order to clarify the somewhat unusual pattern of events characterising the research on which this thesis is based. I shall then go on to describe the development of my own research interests and then consider the literature and concepts underlying my treatment of the issues dealt with in this thesis. Next, I shall describe in detail the actual methods used, and I shall conclude by returning to methodological issues, namely, an appraisal of these methods and of the anthropological approach in general. In order to describe the methods Wight and I used in Cauldmoss, I have introduced a limited amount of ethnographic material into these last two sub-sections.

Initial projects in Cauldmoss.

As I indicated in Chapter One, in June 1982 Wight and I were employed as Research Associates to carry out a project on attitudes to work in a Scottish Lowland community. The project was headed by Dr.R.Turner and Professor Littlejohn of Edinburgh University's Department of Social Anthropology. This was initially intended to run for three years, although the funding arrangements were changed after fieldwork had begun and the project was cut to seventeen months. At the end of this time, the (then) Social Science Research Council indicated that more funds were likely to be forthcoming if we were prepared to wait. Wight and I therefore signed-on the "dole" for a year and carried on living in our council flat in Cauldmoss, after which time we were given another year's grant. As I have said, during this second period of reseach, our work (now under the direction of Dr.M. Noble) focussed on the moral implications of unemployment and the hidden economy in Cauldmoss.

I spent a total of just under four years in the village, for most of the last two years living alone there. Apart from the two End-of-Award Reports for the ESRC which I cited in Chapter One, we have used our material on Cauldmoss to contribute to several studies of

unemployment, details of which I shall give later on in this chapter. It was while employed as a researcher and while signing-on in Cauldmoss that I collected the information on which this thesis is based.

Prior to our initial project, Dr. Turner had conducted fieldwork in a fishing/mining village on the east coast of Scotland near Edinburgh (see Willis and Turner 1980). His aim in setting up the Cauldmoss study was to produce an ethnographic record of a community in the heart of the Central Lowland's industrial belt; this time, one based predominantly on mining. His aim was also to investigate the impact of industrial decline on such a community. Both Littlejohn's and Turner's previous work had suggested the importance of work as a moral category in Scotland. In his pioneering study of a Cheviot village, Littlejohn examined the relative status of different occupations in the community (Littlejohn 1963), while Turner demonstrated that different types of employment involved varying degrees of legitimation (Willis and Turner op.cit.).

Cauldmoss, which lies almost midway between Edinburgh on the east coast and Glasgow on the west, was chosen because it is a relatively isolated settlement goegraphically, with clear boundaries, making it amenable to study using anthropological techniques. Because the population in Cauldmoss is fairly static, relatively long-established and highly interknit, it was especially appropriate for the holistic approach used by anthropology. The lack of jobs in the vicinity, the village's location and (as I shall explain in Chapter Four) the reputation of its inhabitants' among employers in nearby areas, meant that Cauldmoss was experiencing a high level of unemployment. This in turn meant that there were many individuals there who had both the time for (and in some cases, a genuine interest in) sitting down to talk with us about their experiences and their beliefs. We did, of course, work with a range of villagers, not just the unemployed.

Our research involved us in discussions of unemployment and related issues with those working within various academic disciplines. These included economists, sociologists and social psychologists, for example, as well as anthropologists. We also talked to individuals working more directly with people like those in Cauldmoss - community and social workers, welfare rights advisers, civil servants, etc. All of these proved to be very fruitful encounters for us, as well as being very challenging. These various disciplines and departments offer a wealth of perspectives and literature on behaviour and ideas among different social groups in our society and on the situation in different geographical areas of Britain. Our multi-disciplinary experiences were especially useful in that they gave us opportunities to compare our own methodology with that of other approaches; we often found ourselves in the position of apologists for anthropology.

While much of the discussion among these researchers centres on the effects of the shortage of money, and while this is of crucial importance to the inhabitants of Cauldmoss, it soon emerged that the overabundance of time was almost as great a problem for those without jobs in this community. The quotation in the title of this thesis is taken from an interview I conducted in 1983 with an unemployed woman (who is the subject of the detailed case study in Appendix One of this thesis). Describing her state of mind she said:

> Ah get awfi' depressed, and really **frustrated** wantin' tae dae somethin' . . . Ah used tae think, "Oh, it'd be **great, no'** tae work", when Ah **wis** workin', fer years, and Ah had two kids, an' Ah'd think, "Imagine ha'in' a day off", it wis a treat. . . **Noo**, Ah've got every **day**, and every **week** and every **month**, and maybe every **year**. . . tae dae nothin'. . . There never used tae be enough 'oors in the day fer me when Ah wis workin'. . . Noo, Ah know whit like an 'oor is; it jist drags roond.

This quotation reveals how time is used to organise and evaluate one's experiences, and I am particularly interested in the various ways in which individuals and groups impose order on what is happening to them, and around them. Recognising the importance of time as an ordering principle in villagers' lives, I decided to follow the anthropological tradition of including an analysis of this aspect of the inhabitants' worldview in my work on the unemployed in Cauldmoss. Following up this theme, however, led me to switch the focus of my interest from work and unemployment to time itself, as it is perceived and experienced in this community. In terms of research methods, I felt that the quantitative techniques with which we were experimenting could provide data on some aspects of time (especially on the ways it is used and on the temporal frequency of events and activities). However, it seemed that the more sensitive approach of participation in, and observation of, the everyday life of the community was more appropriate for attempting to uncover what Hall has called "the hidden dimension" - time (Hall 1966).

A review of relevant literature.

There were several strands of literature on which I drew in order to clarify my own particular interests and to develop my theoretical approach to time in Cauldmoss. I intend to outline these here and then to draw on particular pieces of work at appropriate points throughout this thesis. The literature may be divided into four main groups, although these overlap in some cases:

a) Work from a range of disciplines which attempts to explain the nature of time.

b) Works by anthropologists and sociologists which deal with the perception of time in particular societies or groups.

c) Works on communities in Britain which deal with the value-systems and ways of life of their members.

d) Works dealing with particular patterns of time-use, especially with work and non-work activities in Britain and other developed countries.

a) The nature of time.

The recent growth of interest in time within a variety of disciplines is evinced by the establishment of a number of associations concerned with its study. The foundation several years ago in the United States of the International Society for the Study of Time was followed in 1984 by that of the British-based Association for Social Studies of Time. There is also the International Reseach Group on Time Budgets and Social Activities, The Project on Time and Organisation, and an association named "The Music of Time and Tides", an interdisciplinary initiative aiming to explore systematically the potential of aesthetic criteria for the organisation of time. The members of these groups include, for example, philosophers, physiologists, psychologists, psychoanalysts, physicists, historians, geographers, economists, sociologists, social anthropologists and individuals working in various branches of medicine, and in business, marketing and transport studies.

Time is a subject which has probably always interested humankind, although to varying degrees. Before we go any further, I will clarify my use of the word "time"; what I am referring to is, in fact, one type of collective representation of change and the absence of change. Parkes and Thrift, exponents of that branch of geography known as chrono-geography, elaborate this point:

> Time [is] equivalent to change. The phrase "change over time" is in fact rather meaningless, rather as "change over change" would be. . . What we call "time" is a description of the way certain selected items change in relation to one another in a recurrent fashion. Items in changing relation, having been monitored in some way, give us a basis for time, which in turn helps us to order our behaviour. . . it also gives us the ability to identify processes. In the strictest sense processes do not "occur over time" but **are** time. (Parkes and Thrift 1980: 37).

Even accepting this, the statement, "time. . . has always interested humankind", is still vague. While it is probably true to say that people have always to some extent monitored changes and processes to some extent, this does not necessarily entail a concern with the types of assumptions that underlie particular views of time.

Earliest humankind probably recognised order in the changes occurring in the environment (for example, new moons appear at regular intervals and the number of darknesses separating them can be counted). Of course, it is not strictly necessary to be able to predict events through the use of such counting methods. At a basic level, life can be simply a response to change as it happens. But predictability allows for greater co-ordination of activities within a group. As Pocock says:

> My life and my activity endure and it is only through interaction with others that I am subject to time. . . the relation of the individual person or the individual group to the larger whole is intimately related to the relationship between time-reckoning and mere duration. (Pocock 1967: 307).

The order observed in the environment can be applied to change that occurs in people and their activities; activities become regulated in light of the recognition that what is happening now depends on what happened in the past, and will influence what occurs in the future. Most writers suggest that the notion of time arose out of purely functional necessity - the benefits of recognising the cyclical behaviour or growth patterns of animals and plants. While not denying the practical usefulness of such an awareness, I support the claim made by Lévi-Strauss (1966) that concepts such as time constitute an important means whereby people fulfil a need for order which goes beyond the utilitarian (see section b-ii below). Just as totemic species are not simply "goods to eat" but are also "goods to think with" (Lévi-Strauss 1964), so representations of time involve categories which are socially and intellectually, not just economically, valuable.

It should be pointed out that what is known as the linear approach to time dominates our own society. Ornstein summarises the developed linear view as consisting of a continuous experience of the present, retrospection on the past which produces an awareness of duration (the way that time passes), and a very specific breakdown of the flow of events. This allows for the precise indication of simultaneity (the occurrence of two or more events at the same time). The perception of the duration and succession of events underlies our emphasis on causality, the way in which we divide "the flow of events into serial lists which can be sequentially analyzed, studied and manipulated" (Ornstein 1972: 100).

In Part Two of this thesis, I shall consider our own concept of time in more detail, and I will describe attempts to investigate the nature of time in non-literate societies in the next section of this literature review. There are also, of course, differences between the Western view of time and that found in some areas of life in other large-scale societies. Buddhism, for example, with its emphasis on reincarnation, promotes a cyclical image of this phenomenon, and Ornstein devotes much of his analysis to a comparison of Eastern and Western conceptions of time.

As I indicated in Chapter One, time may be described as consisting of three highly interrelated aspects:

1) The way in which time is measured (or change is calibrated) according to objectively surveyable phenomena which are external to the individual (for example, using a clock or calendar). This is what Parkes and Thrift call "universe", "locational" or "standard" time (op. cit: 30). It is often known as "physical time". We might also include here the physiological and psychological processes underlying the sense of time, although there is much overlap between this area and the third one below.

2) The social conventions governing the way in which different groups of people think about time, their beliefs about the way in which items are related in time, and about how time should be used. These are collective representations of time and roughly correspond to Parkes and Thrift's "social time". Under this heading come notions about whether events (or time itself) recur, or whether there is constant progress through history. It includes ideas about the significant stages in life, and beliefs concerning the appropriateness of certain activities at particular times.

3) Individuals' experience, or sense, of time - whether it appears to go fast or slow, for example, depending on one's mood or circumstances.

My particular concern in this thesis is with the second aspect described above, and it is to literature which deals specifically with this area to which I shall now turn.

b) Time in society.

b-i: Time in British society.

As yet there is little literature dealing in depth with the perception of time in a specific geographical community in Britain. In fact, I know of only two such studies, one of which was an undergraduate dissertation by an anthropology student at the University of Edinburgh (Judith Kendra 1977). Kendra conducted fieldwork in a village in Wiltshire which, up until the First World War, had been centred on agricultural work on the squire's estate. She looked at how ideas about time and the way it is measured have altered in the village over the last two hundred years, focussing on the nature and pattern of work, and on the role of religion. Her conclusions were that time is "inherent in the social

structure" of the village, and that changes in part of the social structure (that is, new types of work and new social roles) had affected the perception and measurement of time. Time had come to be seen in the village as a linear rather than a cyclical phenomenon. Kendra uses Weber's concept of rationalisation, whereby individuals attain their ends through the careful calculation of means, to explain this change in approach to time. This prompted me to ask to what extent time may be said to take a linear or a cyclical form in Cauldmoss, and whether changing economic circumstances appear to be producing any alteration in villagers' perceptions of time.

The other study which is extremely salient in terms of my own work is a doctoral thesis recently completed by a sociologist, again at the University of Edinburgh (Pat Straw 1985). It was only during the last months of writing up that I discovered Straw's work, a situation that is ironic since she carried out her fieldwork, using an oral-historical approach, in a town in the Central Lowlands very near to Cauldmoss. She even interviewed one woman in Cauldmoss itself. She had in fact completed her fieldwork the year before we moved to Cauldmoss, but news of her interview in the village does not seem to have "got round" since no one there ever mentioned it to us. My discovery was doubly ironic because, although (unlike me) Straw concentrates on one particular group within the town, working-class women, she analyses their experience of family life and social change using the concept of a temporal framework. (This is a concept which I too have used to help structure my own analysis of time; I shall discuss it in more detail in Chapter Three.) Although she did not live in the town, but travelled there each day from Edinburgh, she spent her time in the field carrying out semi-structured taped interviews based on the idea of asking women from different generations to tell her their "life story".

Discussing the vicissitudes of arranging and carrying out interviews, Straw says she sometimes spent a day in someone's house while interruptions prevented her from completing her questioning; she felt that she could not "carry on plaguing them until a more ideal time for my own purposes arose" (ibid:35). This quotation brings out the difference between the oral-historical or the sociological approach and our own methodology; it indicates that in those disciplines it tends to be only the fragments of life that are captured on tape or on questionnaire response sheets that are regarded as a source of data. In contrast, the day(s) I spent with individuals in Cauldmoss attempting to do an interview produced not only a taped or written record of questions and answers, but also many pages of fieldnotes on the comings and goings of the day in that household - the time spent talking with neighbours, caring for children, cooking and eating, etc. We lived full-time in the village specifically to observe such events, because they provided information against which to assess what was actually said to us by respondents.

The authors of one of the best known studies of a working-class community in Britain, the sociologists Young and Willmott, admit that "For the most part we can only report what people say they do, which is not necessarily the same as what they actually do" (1957: 14). As Löfgren points out, anthropologists concern themselves not simply with "verbal forms of interaction" , but with the "type of silent socialization. . . found in the sharing of a meal, in the structure of work, in the physical arrangements of the home or the welfare agency" (1987: 89). Of particular relevance to a consideration of time in any community, is Löfgren's discussion of the way that anthropologists "find it important to study how ideas are anchored in the routines and rituals of daily activities" (ibid.). Similarly, Segalen and Zonabend draw attention to the fact that within the domestic space, "furniture, ornaments, knick-knacks. . . each has a meaning to be deciphered within the family, a story to be narrated" (1987: 117). So for me, unlike Straw, the type of experience she describes above was "ideal", in so far as it contributed to the holistic picture of life in the village that I was trying to build up.

I discovered that, not only had Straw focussed on time in her thesis, she had made use of various anthropological writings. Moreover, although she focussed on aspects of time forming only part of my own analysis, she arrived at conclusions very similar to those which I myself was forming in terms of her explanation of the relationship between temporal patterns, order and power. She uses a temporal framework approach in order to consider the connection between biography and history, to understand the meaning of the larger historical scene for individuals and for the community. Her main point seems to be that the women she studied are linked together by a shared experience of continuity through biological rhythms, through enduring affective ties to their relatives, and (within each generation) through a common experience of world and local events. This, she argues, is the basis of their power within the home.

While her ethnographic material is fascinating and her analysis is helpful, I would suggest that she underplays the role of men within the family. They do after all have some say in how the household organises its time, and they too (if my experience in Cauldmoss can be generalised) gossip and tell stories about the past, creating their version of events. An interesting area of research which, unfortunately lies outwith the scope of this thesis, would be to examine the tales men tell and those told by women in a community like Cauldmoss in order to find out whether there are any consistent differences between the sexes. One obvious contrast is that stories about childbirth (which tended to be discussed in the same contexts as illness) were a currency belonging mainly to women.

My own analysis of time in Cauldmoss is based on a more detailed consideration than Straw's of the part time plays in the organisation and the evaluation of activities and events. I am suggesting that the socio-temporal framework of a particular group plays a crucial role (which is often overlooked) in its members' sense of identity, and in their feeling of being in control of their lives and the situation they are in. The application of shared socio-temporal rules reinforces the cohesion of the group in that it allows "common sense" to be made of what has happened, what is happening and will happen.

Apart from studies such as Kendra's and Straw's, where a work deals with time in our culture (by which I mean that of Western society in general), it tends to focus on the concept, form or use of time **throughout** this complex society (sometimes at different historical periods). The writings for example of Gurvitch (1964), Lauer (1981), Moore (1963), Zerubavel (1981), and more recently of Young (1988), belong to this category. Another approach, and one which some of the above (notably Young and Zerubavel) adopt to a limited extent, is to consider the perception of time among a particular group or groups within this society. Roth (1963), for example, did this with hospital patients and Hazan (1980) with elderly people, while Cottle (1976) contrasts the time perception of men and women. (See also the last section of Chapter Three.)

b-ii: Time in other societies.

To return to my overview of the literature on social time, there are those who propose schemes for the classification of societies, or of groups within one society, in terms of their attitudes to time. For instance, Linder (1970) contrasts cultures according to whether they demonstrate "time famine", "time surplus" or "time affluence". The anthropologists Sahlins (1972) and Woodburn (1982) consider the concept of "immediate" versus "delayed" return and patterns of time use in societies dominated by different modes of production, although they concentrate on hunter-gatherer and agricultural societies. Anthropologists who have focussed on one community, and who have looked in detail at time within it, have tended to do so in the traditional anthropological sphere - small-scale societies in the third world.

Anthropological writing on time in other cultures is of interest to me on both methodological and theoretical grounds. In summarising his excellent discussion of time in Kédang, Barnes states:

> I have described several ways in which the Kédangese order sequences of events which I think correspond to various aspects of what we call time, and I have argued

> that they are all, in Kédangese terms, cyclical because they are irreversible and they proceed through the sequences until they return to the beginning (Barnes 1974: 140).

The first point to note here is that Barnes stresses the cultural specificity of our own concept of time. The second point is that by focussing on the fundamental characteristic of time - so that it is seen as a means of ordering "sequences of events" - he is able, with reservations, to describe "time" in Kédang. My own attempts to come to grips with time in Cauldmoss were aided by noting the particular aspects of his informants' behaviour and ideas which he selected when investigating this phenomenon. These included his informants' language, the way in which time intervals were obtained and time-units counted and conceptualised, and the images informants used in relation to time. Thirdly, in this quotation, Barnes labels his informants' concept of time "cyclical", and explains what he means by this.

Different anthropologists adopt different approaches to the question of time. Evans-Pritchard, for example, in his classic study of the Nuer, points out that he limits his discussion of their "concept of time" to "systems of time reckoning . . . and . . . not the way in which an individual perceives time" (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 107). Like Barnes, he understands time as a means by which "successions of events are linked to each other conceptually" (ibid: 94). His conclusion is that Nuer concepts of time reflect "their relations to environment [and] their relations to one another in the social structure" (ibid), and, as we shall see in Part Three, in this second aspect especially, the Nuer have much in common with the inhabitants of Cauldmoss.

Perhaps the other best known investigation of time in a small-scale society is that of Whorf on the Hopi. He focusses especially on what the Hopi language reveals about their concept of time, but goes further than Evans-Pritchard in that he claims to be uncovering Hopi "modes of reasoning" (Whorf 1962: 263). He even refers to their "intuition" in his conclusion that, unlike us, the Hopi have ". . . no general notion or intuition of time as a smooth flowing continuum in which everything in the universe proceeds at an equal rate, out of a future, through a present, into a past" (ibid: 57). Despite the distinction Whorf makes between Western and Hopi time concepts, in Part Three I shall also point out apparent similarities between aspects of Hopi time and time in Cauldmoss.

If we accept that time is a social construct, then it is reasonable to assume that in different societies time may take different forms. "If we look closely" however, says Bloch, the "range" of concepts of time boils down to only two notions - the linear and the cyclic. (Bloch himself limits his own investigation to the "perception of duration and not the ways in which time is divided up or metaphorically represented" [Bloch 1977: 282]). In

addition, Leach suggests a pendulum view of time (Leach 1961), although I did not find this of much help in understanding time in Cauldmoss. While his essay on the role of festivals in creating time intervals (ibid.) was useful, I would question the logic of several of his statements on time. For example, does it really follow, as he claims, that because we think that "every interval of time is marked by repetition, [having] a beginning and an end which are 'the same thing'. . . we must end by supposing that 'Time itself' . . . must repeat itself " (ibid: 126)?

Anthropologists, therefore, tend to characterise time in the societies they study as taking a primarily linear or cyclical form. There are cases however of disagreement between anthropologists as to the characteristics of time in one particular society. In the essay by Bloch to which I referred above, the author rejects Geertz's claim, that the Balinese have a non-durational notion of time - a conclusion which Geertz bases on the fact that they stress the coincidence of cycles and the recurrence of events (Geertz 1975: Chapter 14). Bloch argues that the particular interrelated cultural systems discussed by Geertz (methods of marking time; attitudes to personhood and to social relationships; the internal structuring of festivals) are used only for ritual purposes. Bloch produces evidence from the "everyday life" of the Balinese, and argues that the methods of classification and the categories used here are different from those embodied in ritual communication, and that these "mundane" notions reveal a linear notion of duration.

However, Leo Howe, in his reply to Bloch's essay, re-examines the Balinese material and concludes that this people have "a single coherent concept of duration exhibiting features of both cyclicity and linearity" (Howe 1981: 220). I found Howe's reinterpretation extremely helpful both in assessing the work of other anthropologists and in clarifying my own ideas about the study of time in society. He considers the fundamental issue of which aspects of a culture may be seen as significant in the investigation of time, rejecting Bloch's claim that the way time is divided up is irrelevant to the analysis of time, and citing Leach in support of his argument. Howe refers to the point made by Hubert and Mauss, that time cannot be studied in the abstract, but is a matter of the relationship between points dividing time and the intervals created (Howe ibid: 221).

He draws attention to the difficulties involved in gaining access to informants' experiential perception of time: "it is peculiarly difficult to phrase a question which would elicit the right kind of answer" (ibid: 28) that is, an answer revealing a linear or cyclical view of time. This applies almost as much to Cauldmoss as it does to Bali. Nevertheless, the researcher in both settings is able to report on the way time, or at least duration, is represented "at some conceptual level" [my emphasis] (ibid). Howe points to

Barnes' analysis of Kédangese time as a good example of the correct aspects of behaviour and belief to select in order to achieve this aim. He claims that Bloch is confused about the meaning and logical status of certain key words in his account: "time", "duration", "linear", "cyclical" and "static". I would agree with him that it is important to recognise that the cyclicity of time involves linear representation, in that the stages of the former are represented as having an irreversible order. Conversely, linear time involves cyclicity, since the points dividing time into intervals are derived from repeated events. It may be true, says Howe, that the Balinese claim that a cycle returns to the same **logical** point, but this is not the same **temporal** point. Like Bloch, he suggests that duration is an inevitable experience and that "duration (succession) is logically presupposed by linearity and cyclicity" (ibid: 223).

Like Barnes, Evans-Pritchard and Leach, he stresses the dangers involved in looking for our own concept of time in other societies. Durkheim, one of the founders of anthropology, pointed to potential errors resulting from the fact that time is one of our collective representations which is "so stable and impersonal that it seems to be absolutely universal and immutable" (Durkheim 1976: 440). While "time", as we understand it, may not exist in another society, the anthropologist can identify concepts whose content and structure "seem to refer roughly to the same kind of area that 'time' and its correlates do in our culture, even when the structure and content of these concepts are not the same as ours" (Howe op cit: 223).

According to him, anthropologists should not refer to the "different notions of time but rather to the different ways in which the passage of time is represented" (ibid). While I would agree with him, I would question his claim that there is nothing intrinsic in duration that leads to its being seen as "articulated, as consisting of joints and segments" (ibid: 226), as it is in Balinese culture. Since he has already stated that, in all societies, time is a matter of duration divided at certain points into intervals, it could be argued that one may expect to find some concept of bounded segments of time in all cultures.

Howe agrees with Bloch's point that not only psychological and linguistic research findings, but the very fact that individuals from very different societies can communicate with one another, implies that there is a universal aspect of the phenomenon of time. In considering some anthropologists' attempts to separate out the universal from the culturally created, or contingent, elements of time, we are moving into a third area of dispute. This centres on the debate between those belonging to the cultural relativist school of thought and those in the universalist tradition. The debate between these factions over the issue of time is a complex one, but one which is of some relevance for my

own attempt to understand time in Cauldmoss, not only in terms of the way in which it is represented and its role in the social integration of this community, but also in terms of possible common human endeavours and cognitive processes.

Some anthropologists are content to classify the concept(s) of time in the society they study and to describe the situations in that society in which particular views of time appear to manifest themselves. Others adopt what Merton (1957) calls a "middle-range theory", making claims, for example, about the relationship between ideas about social and economic roles, religious beliefs and concepts of time, thus allowing comparisons to be made with other societies. Yet others seek to develop high-level theories entailing a greater degree of applicability and predictability.

As Gluckman and Eggan (1965) suggest, some would claim that it is not the aim of social anthropology to explain a phenomenon (such as religion or time) in its entirety. Others, however, favour a less limited approach and believe that social anthropologists should make use of models from a range of disciplines. While pointing out that anthropology is "the science of social systems", Spiro (1966) claims that to fully "understand" a social phenomenon, both social and psychological elements must be considered.

Reference to psychology does not always entail reference to universal cognitive functions or processes. Even where this is the case, it need not involve a belief in the universality of specific concepts or forms of social organisation. It may be claimed, as we have seen, that all societies have some type of time, or of kinship, or of religion for example, although the form taken by time (or kinship, or religion) may be highly culture-specific. The central question facing us here is that of the nature of the relationship between individual thought processes and collective representations.

At one extreme there is the approach of the universalist and intellectualist, Hallpike, who attempts to overcome what he sees as "the amateurish speculation about the human mind which has been vogue among anthropologists hitherto" (Hallpike 1979: 254). Believing that "basic human psychological processes are universal" (1976: 253) and that "thinking itself is the same in all places and at all times" (1975: 15), anthropologists tend to assume that they can ignore psychology, Hallpike claims. However, he states that "thought", "concepts", "cognitive skills" and "cognitive functioning" (ibid) all differ cross-culturally, and can be compared and graded in terms of Piaget's model of cognitive development.

He challenges the Durkheimian view, which is the basis of cultural relativism, whereby

social organisation determines modes of thought, independently of individual thought processes, and claims that "beliefs", "values", "knowledge" and "collective representations" depend on the cognitive abilities of the group in question. He is aware however, that the level of cognitive skills developed in a group depends in itself on the requirements of that group, in terms of the demands of their environment and the extent of their need for communication with those in other groups.

Hallpike's original article, provocatively entitled "Is there a primitive mentality?" (1976), led to a heated debate in the pages of **Man** and **RAIN** which was still going on eleven years later. (See Willis 1981, Southwold 1981, Barnes 1982, Frake 1885, Gell 1985). Bloch chooses to criticise Hallpike for assuming that collective representations reflect the mental processes of their owners: culture should be viewed as "the combination of more than one [cognitive] process, which are linked in a variety of ways" (Bloch 1985: 45). "Practical concepts" are based on innate analytic processes and are open to investigation using psychological models. "Ideological concepts" derive from the traditions of one's culture, and often challenge, rather than reinforce, non-ideological cognition. In this way, Bloch adopts a position midway between that of Hallpike and that of Geertz, for example. The latter, with his extreme relativist position, claims that human thought is "social in its origins, social in its functions, social in its forms, social in its applications" (Geertz,op. cit: 360). "Thought does not consist of mysterious processes . . . located . . . in the head, but of a traffic in significant symbols - objects in experience . . . upon which men have impressed meaning" (ibid: 362).

There are other anthropologists who regard cognition as having both universal and culture-specific aspects, although they do not separate these two areas in the same way as Bloch. Lévi-Strauss (1966) and Douglas (1966), for example, believe that while culture is structured according to basic principles of classification (which are universal), the actual contents of a society's classificatory system are passed on from one generation to the next, and are socially determined. Lévi-Strauss refers to innate modes of thought and category formation, suggesting that while the type of rules by which the members of different groups classify the environment are uniform (being based on binary pairs), different groups use these to construct their own unique set of related categories. "The demand for order", he says, is characteristic of "all thought", and that to classify is to introduce "order into the universe" (ibid: 9-10). He suggests that "man" tends to classify to an extent which transcends practical necessity; the classifying activity ". . . meets intellectual requirements rather than satisfying needs" (ibid: 9).

Likewise, Douglas points to the "impulse to impose order" (op. cit: 5) and "our

schematising tendencies" (ibid: 37) in explaining universal perceptual processes, especially the importance of maintaining boundaries around the categories created. She refers to "the rule of patterning" and to a universal "principle" applied with "no specific distinction between primitives and moderns" (ibid: 40). However, she then goes on to describe categories and anomalies which are defined in terms of socially determined categories of thought.

To different extents, all of these models contributed towards the development of my own approach to time in Cauldmoss. I agree with Hallpike that there is much confusion in anthropology as a whole when it comes to exploring the relationship between cognition and collective representations, largely due to a lack of shared precise definitions of the terminology employed. Hallpike at least is willing to clearly set out his model of the mind and how it functions, even providing a glossary of the many terms he uses. Moreover, his analysis of the features of time in terms of "duration, succession and simultaneity" and the transition from one bounded process to another, is helpful (Hallpike 1979: 341).

The developmental model he proposes provides a neat set of criteria for categorising different societies according to their concepts of time, although the application of Piaget's tests on a cross-cultural basis is not a straightforward matter. However, while his summary of the characteristics of time in "primitive" groups seems to accord with a number of anthropologists' descriptions of other societies, Hallpike's determination to use his model has resulted in a stereotypical view of time in non-literate societies; one which I think has unacceptable implications in terms of the intelligence of the social groups studied.

It seems to me that the difference between these various approaches is captured in two apparently contradictory statements: Hallpike, as we saw, claims that relativist anthropologists believe that "basic human psychological processes are universal" (op cit.). Bloch however, declares that theories of the cultural relativity of cognition assume that "different societies have fundamentally different systems of thought" (Bloch 1977: 278). Although it is not what either writer intended, these statements, taken together, describe a position very similar to that of Lévi-Strauss and Douglas in that they suggest that there are general aspects of psychological functioning which are universal and which produce the same general type of phenomena in societies everywhere, but that the actual systems of thought found in different societies may vary. Each society regards particular categories of things, or of experience, as significant; each has its own cultural pattern. As Hallpike himself says, "there is only one time, but there are many types of process" (Hallpike op. cit: 343) by which he means that different societies choose to identify

different "successive spatial states" as important, and represent them as recurring or as linear.

The ability to communicate cross-culturally rests on the fact that there are rules of some form governing the way in which every society perceives reality, and the role of the anthropologist is to discover the nature of the **particular** rules operating in societies other than our own (or, as in my case, in a community within our society). Each society orders, or makes sense of, the world by segmenting the continuum of sense experience in some way, allowing categories to be marked out and related to one another in such a way as to form meaningful systems. There are several psychological studies which suggest that from the very first hours of life, neonates can see some form of order in their surroundings (see for example the papers in the collection edited by Haber and Hershenson 1973. Experiments on primates suggest that the human perceptual system is, in fact, "hardwired" to distinguish particular, very basic, features in the environment.) Through learning to act and to talk within a group, an individual is able to channel this organising ability in ways that are unique to that group, constructing culturally specific perceptual models or schemata, a process described by Bartlett (1958). (In his introduction to Durkheim and Mauss' **Primitive Classification,** Needham compares this type of aproach to a strict relativist interpretation).

Douglas, too, was inspired by the work of Bartlett to analysise time in our culture in terms of a structured system of bounded and interrelated categories:

> Events which come in regular sequences acquire a meaning from relation with others in the sequence. Without the full sequence, individual elements become lost, imperceivable. For example, the days of the week, with their regular succession, names and distinctiveness: apart from their practical value in identifying the divisions of time, they each have meaning as part of a pattern. Each day has its own significance and if there are habits which establish the identity of a particular day, those regular observances have the effect of ritual. (Douglas op.cit: 64)

Earlier she declares that "in the primitive culture the rule of patterning works with greater force and more total comprehensiveness" than is the case with the "moderns" (ibid: 40). My analysis of just one aspect of ordering activity in Cauldmoss - time - leads me to challenge this claim.

c) Community studies.

By "community studies", I mean both examinations of particular communities in Britain, and work which considers the concept of community itself, as applied to Western society in

general. Up until now I have used this term to refer to Cauldmoss because it is an expression used by villagers themselves (they also talk of "the village"). I am aware, however, that this is a term which has had a chequered history in the social sciences, so I shall now consider literature which was useful in helping me clarify the bases on which Cauldmoss may be termed a community, the bases of **collective** representations of time. I found work on specific communities useful in terms of the methods different researchers have employed. Such work also provides an opportunity to compare my own findings with those from other parts of the British Isles, in order to determine the applicability of my conclusions to other areas. It may be that the behaviour and value systems I identify in Cauldmoss are peculiar to that community, or apply specifically to mining communities, or to all rural communities, or to working-class communities in general. On the other hand, it could be that they are specific to communities in Scotland, or more particularly, to those in Lowland Scotland.

c -i: The concept of community.

This is a concept that has long been of concern, for sociologists in particular. In 1955, for example, George Hillery identified 94 different uses of the word. Today, we see it applied to a variety of institutions, such as "community centres", "community schools" and "community policemen", as part of an attempt to humanise them, through exploiting the term's associations with the warmth and intimacy of a settled, supportive group of people. Anthony Cohen, in a useful survey of the development of studies of community, talks about the use of this word to convey "a quality of social life" (1985: 23). How did this interpretation develop?

Maine, Tönnies, and Durkheim, who all worked within an evolutionary framework, described the development of society from a situation where individuals have a fixed position and are bound together in a web of personal and social relationships to one in which they adopt different roles and move between social groups and relationships. Maine (1950) used the word "status" to characterise the first form of organisation, and "contract" to describe the second, while Durkheim's (1964) distinction was between "mechanical" and "organic" solidarity. If the latter state (in which individuals are linked through their economic dependence on one another) does not develop, then people in modern society experience *anomie* - a feeling of isolation and rootlessness. Tönnies (1955) described a transition between the ideal types of *Gemeinschaft* (which has been equated with "community" and is characterised by stable ties of family, neighbourhood and friendship) and *Gesellschaft* or "society" (which is marked by ego-focussed, specific and

discontinuous relationships). In the 1920's, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess of the Chicago School took this type of distinction further, in their studies of ways of life in the cities, which culminated in Louis Wirth's concept of the rural-urban continuum in the late 1930s. Notable amongst the studies of urban and rural life carried out within this American Durkheimian tradition were the Lynd's famous portrait of Middletown (1929), the work of Redfield (1955) (with his distinction between "folk" and "urban" society), and that of Horace Miner (1963) and Oscar Lewis (1975).

In Britain, early studies of rural society included Arensberg and Kimball's **Family and Community in Ireland** (1940), and Frankenberg's work in Wales (1966). As community studies developed here, it challenged the Chicago School's distinction between urban and rural conditions; Young and Willmott's work in the East End of London in the 1950s revealed that cities contained tight-knit communities, for example, while Pahl's (1968) investigation of village life pointed to the conflict existing in rural communities. The upheavals in urban centres during the 1960s crystalised criticism of community studies, since the descriptions of individual communities the genre produced did not seem capable of offering explanations of such developments. (Bell and Newby's 1975 critique of traditional community studies demonstrates the situation at that time.) Out of this dissatisfaction, Neo-Marxist theories of conflict, such as that of Castells (1977) emerged. Since then, sociologists have tended to shy away from community studies, although Young and Willmott's Institute of Community Studies still operates in Britain. (In the following subsection, I shall say more about community studies in Scotland.)

What has emerged from such studies in terms of the way in which the expression "community" is used? In a recent research pamphlet, Willmott (1986) argues that, at its most fundamental level, this term refers to a group having something in common. Traditionally this is a geographical area - a territory to which the group's members belong. Alternatively, they may form an "interest community" - having a shared concern, for example with religion or ethnic origin. The third type he describes is a "community of attachment", involving a relationship among people themselves and with the place in which they live. This sense of the word has two elements : "one is to do with social relationships: a place is more of this kind of community if many residents know many others. The second element is to do with perceptions, with how many people feel a sense of identity with the place and of solidarity with the other people". These groups have a "sense or spirit of community" (Willmott 1986: 3). He suggests that, whereas the increase in privatised lifestyles has detracted from such a sense of community, the fact that increasing numbers of people are spending time in their locality - rather than at work - could mean the strengthening of such links.

An alternative typology of communities is based on the connection between where individuals work and where they live. As the series of papers in the collection edited by Bulmer (1975) demonstrate, there are various definitions of an "occupation community". Allcorn and Marsh (1975), for example, focus on the sense of community arising in a workforce characterised by inherited occupation, where fathers are involved in an anticipatory socialisation, transmitting a particular occupational culture to the next generation of workers in the same industry - their sons. Salaman (1975) distinguishes between the community formed in the workplace, centred on shared occupation and world-view, and that based on individuals who live in the same area, and because of that fact, happen to work together. Most of the present inhabitants of Cauldmoss are descended from those who moved to the area to work there, and most men followed their fathers into the mine. This means that, in the past, the situation there fulfilled all these criteria.

Many writers descibe mining towns as archetypal occupation communities, but point out that such settlements are disappearing. Lockwood (1975) for example, describes the change from such a traditional "proletarian" type of workforce (characterised by strong attachments to fellow workers and class loyalty) to a more "privatised" set of workers who are less involved in their work and in work groups. To an extent this is how the situation has developed in Cauldmoss since the mines closed, a fact which is evinced by the lack of support we found there for the miners during their strike of 1984-85. There was some sympathy for them, especially for their families, but no action to help them, and some even said they would cross miners' picket-lines if it became necessary in their own work, for example as lorry drivers. While we were in Cauldmoss, although there seemed to exist no strong feelings of solidarity with miners nationwide, shared knowledge (and in some cases experience) of the village's mining past did inform individuals' sense of identification with the place and with other villagers. This type of common feeling fulfills Willmott's definition of a "community of attachment". The fact that villagers have a marked awareness of their position in terms of geographical location, and the many cultural concerns they hold in common suggests that one may also identify in Cauldmoss the other types of community which he describes.

Cauldmoss therefore would seem to fulfill various definitions of community. Going back to Anthony Cohen's treatment of this concept, he points out that Durkheim never claimed, as later writers seem to believe, that mechanical and organic solidarity are historically incompatible; rather Durkheim saw them "as contrasted tendencies within society at any one time" (Durkheim quoted in Cohen 1985: 24). Within society as an organic whole

(which involves engagement in non- communal relations) a set of individuals can choose to identify itself as a group, through the "contrived symbolic expression of likeness - of communality" (ibid:25). This bounded unit demonstrates mechanical solidarity.

Cohen underlines the point that a community is a state of mind, a consciousness among a group of people that they "have something in common with each other, which. . . distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups"(ibid: 12). This concept of community is "encapsulated in perception of its boundaries" (ibid: 13), which are expressed symbolically. He explains that for him, symbols are "vehicles of. . . interpretation" with which we endow our environment with meaning, and which are especially appropriate for the expression of feelings about communities because they "allow their common form to be retained and shared among the members of a group, while not imposing upon these people the constraints of uniform meaning" (ibid: 17-18).

Since Cohen's analysis of the idea of community includes a consideration of symbolism, meaning and boundary (concepts which I use in my treatment of time in Cauldmoss), I found it particularly useful. He takes from Sperber the notion that the more numerous the beliefs and rituals (the "cultural symbolism") which a group of people have in common, the more their evocational fields will overlap, producing "a shared orientation among the members of a single society" (Sperber 1975: 137). However, the free-association which symbols involve means that "there always remains to the individual a considerable degree of freedom"(ibid) so that "cultural symbolism creates a commonality of interest but not of opinion"(ibid).

While I do not seek to apply Sperber's analysis to my own material in any rigorous way (I **do** make claims as to the concensus of "opinion" in Cauldmoss, for example), his approach, and that of Cohen, helps to explain the way that, in some contexts, individuals and groups of individuals in Cauldmoss demonstrate ideas and evaluations out of keeping with what seemed to be the norm, while nevertheless appearing to subscribe to collective representations in other situations and in regard to other aspects of life.

Sperber argues that the concern with meaning, "the attribution of sense" (ibid: 83) to "everything" in the universe is a feature of our culture which "although it is found in other cultures as well, is in no way universal" (ibid). Here, he is referring to a semiological approach, where every item is believed to be correlated with a particular interpretation. In fact, however, his own example of the way in which our society finds meaning in things as diverse as "life" to "the colour of leaves in autumn" (ibid), suggests that what is actually involved for us is frequently "evocation", or free-ranging association.

I am not persuaded by his account to abandon my own interpretation of social time as a way of organising, of "making sense" of, or finding "meaning" in, events and experiences, a function time seems to serve in all societies to a greater or lesser degree. Cohen himself uses the term "meaning" synonymously with expressions such as "make sense of", "understand" and "interpret" (1985:16-17). Sharing Sperber's interest in cognition, Cohen points out,

> The boundaries of communities perform the same function as do the boundaries of all categories of knowledge. If we extract from this total cognitive stock a sub-genus, categories of **social** knowledge, we find that such categories are marked by symbolism." (ibid:14)

Such symbolism serves to "discriminate among roles, between life and death, between stages and statuses in the life-cycle, between gender, between generations, between the pure and the polluted" (ibid). Cohen explains that it may take an "explicit" form as in ritual or myth, or may simply be "part of the meaning which we intuitively ascribe to more instrumental and pragmatic things in ordinary use - such as words" (ibid).

As this discussion of "categories of social knowledge" suggests, many of the important distinctions within a group refer to divisions in time - either in the time of the group as a whole (differences between generations), or in an individual member's life time (between her/his life and death, or stages in her/his life-cycle). As I shall demonstrate in Part Three another key aspect of social life is the distinction between categories of behaviour on a day-to-day basis. Sperber's description of cognitive functioning suggests that members of all societies find meaning in their environment only in so far as they are able to relate categories of information to one another, to make associations in one way or another (via encyclopeadic, semantic, or symbolic evocation). Cohen's analysis points to the necessity of distinguishing categories of knowledge; I want to suggest that the degree of meaning or significance which time assumes for people in Cauldmoss depends on the type of order or structure they perceive in their lives, both in terms of their everyday interactions, and their long-term "development". In line with Sperber's and Cohen's approaches, I shall not try to explain exactly what "a minute" or "the past" means for individual informants. Rather, my intention is to demonstrate that, for the inhabitants of Cauldmoss as a whole, particular time-periods and specific ways of using time derive their meaning from their relationship to other time-periods and/or activities.

This relativism pervades all aspects of life in the village. In Chapter Four, I shall consider distinctions villagers make between their community and others, between different sub-groups within the community, and between different individuals according to

the roles they play. In Chapters Five and Six I will examine the ways in which villagers contrast phenomena with one another in terms of their socio-temporal characteristics. "Now" is meaningful for villagers through its relationship to "then", just as an informant's experience of an hour when unemployed depends on his/her experience of time when at work. Contrast also plays a crucial role in establishing the norm; by choosing to discuss unusual occurrences or inappropriate timing, as villagers frequently do, they continually circumscribe what they recognise as standard. By drawing attention to all incidents that are not "normal", individuals implicitly reinforce the significance of "normal" behaviour and beliefs. In Chapter Four, I shall consider the force of conservatism and conformity in Cauldmoss and how this "contrasting mechanism" operates in gossip.

Discussing the role of opposition in boundary-marking, Cohen quotes James Boon, who states that it is in the nature of symbols to express contrast and distinction: "Every discourse, like every culture, inclines towards what it is not: towards a an implicit negativity." (Boon 1982: 232). As Cohen himself puts it "boundaries are **relational** rather than absolute" (op.cit: 58). He goes on to discuss "symbolic reversal" whereby the members of a group "emphasise and reassert the norm" (ibid: 63) through ritually inverting the behaviour and values which usually mark their boundaries.

c - ii: Studies of communities in Britain.

In the past, anthropologists have left the examination of social life in Britain to sociologists. At the same time, they have argued that the classic sociological method of large-scale sample surveys cannot uncover the value-system of any section of the population to the same degree, or with as much reliability, as can anthropological methods. However, there have been some from both disciplines who have crossed these boundaries, and it is with ethnographic or sociographic studies of communities or groups in Britain that I am principally concerned. Rather than discuss them in detail here, I shall simply cite those I have found most useful.

An early attempt was the sociologists Madge and Harrison's (1939) Mass Observation project in Bolton which highlighted the ethical problems involved in covert research. The late 1950s saw two notable pieces of work - Young and Willmott's study of Bethnal Green (op. cit.) to which I referred earlier, and Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter's **Coal Is Our Life** (1956), an investigation of a Yorkshire mining town with which we found many parallels in Cauldmoss. Since then, many studies have appeared, several of which have been represented in three important collections: Klein's **Samples from English Culture**

(1965), and two volumes edited by anthropologists - Frankenberg's **Communities in Britain** (1966), and Anthony Cohen's more recent **Belonging** (1982). This last includes essays on Scotland, although, as usual, these are on the Highlands and Islands. Marilyn Strathern's study of a rural community near Cambridge, published in 1981, suggests many features very similar to those we found in Cauldmoss, especially the importance of kinship and of having a "rightful place" in the village.

There is a strain of writing on working-class culture in Britain which has been produced by those whose roots lie within that culture itself, and I have found this especially helpful (not least because it often involves the reflexivity that seems to arise when one looks at one's own "type of people" through the spectacles provided by formal education). Outside of academia, journalists who have provided us with such insights include Jeremy Seabrooke (1982) and Beatrix Campbell (1984), both of whom have recently turned their attention to the experience of unemployment. Within the academy, Hoggart's classic, **The Uses of Literacy** (1958) described working-class life in the north of England in the 1930's and 'forties, and I shall make frequent reference to his account in the remainder of this thesis.

The works of Ferdynand Zweig provide a fascinating picture of changes in working-class culture over time. **Labour, Life and Poverty**, published in 1949, described a class dominated by the desire for immediate gratification, but one whose "uneconomical spending" and lack of interest in saving for the future had to be understood as resulting from "the need for compensation for their drudgery and drabness of life, the search for substitutes or sheer escape in buying pleasures" (Zweig 1949: 104). In this, "the ordinary working man has an attitude to life altogether different from that of a middle-class man. He takes life as it comes, and does not think about the future. His view is that life is essentially insecure and changeable, and that it is impossible to avoid its risks" (ibid: 83). By 1961 however, in **The Worker in an Affluent Society**, Zweig found "a new mode of life and a new ethos" among the working-class, manifested, for example, in a much more widespread concern with saving to provide security, and with earning money to buy consumer goods. This new ethos was, however, "battling against the older forces of the traditional code" (1961: 205), and this idea of a "battle" between different values-systems is an issue I will explore in Cauldmoss.

In the social sciences, the sociologist Bernice Martin (who tells us she grew up in the working-class culture of the Lancashire cotton towns in the 1940s and fifties) has produced a fascinating analysis of contemporary cultural change (Martin 1981). As I mentioned in Chapter One, this characterises both working- and middle-class culture in

Britain in terms of the preservation of order and control, involving "framed and classified 'moments' of liminality" (ibid: 54). Such systems were challenged and modified by the attempts to create permanent liminality in the 1960s and seventies, which Talcott Parsons has called the "Expressive Revolution" (1975).

I was originally drawn to Martin because she makes much use of the analytical frameworks offered by anthropologists, including Mary Douglas, Victor Turner, Van Gennep, and Sperber. Thinking back to Sperber's claims about the search for meaning, it is interesting to find Martin quoting Geertz on this point: "The drive to make sense out of experience, to give it form and order, is evidently as real and as pressing as the more familiar biological needs." (Geertz quoted in Martin: 35). I was particularly impressed by her description of working-class life in Bury using such a framework, and covering attitudes towards the use of time and space within the household in terms of interior decorations, clothing, ritual, role demarcations, swearing, etc. Even though she is describing the situation in Lancashire thirty years ago, I recognised Cauldmoss in almost all she says. She herself points out that there may be immense regional variations between, for example, Lancashire, Scotland and the patchwork of different traditions that is London (see, for example, Wallman 1982), or between small market towns like Banbury and rural areas like Gosforth. Nevertheless, she goes on, although:

> There are some features which are regional quirks. . . the important thing is to recognise the common predicament of the urban industrial working-classes - the need to create order and meaning in conditions of scarcity and in a context dominated by the nature of factory production. (Martin 1981 :61).

Although, as I have said, Cauldmoss' *raison d'être* was mining, since the turn of the century, the majority of its inhabitants have made a living through employment in iron and steel works, in brickworks, and, especially in the case of women, in factories. Martin declares that, although her "thesis may be simple. . . its documentation is far from easy because we simply do not possess systematic ethnographic data on British life-styles such as anthropologists would collect for more exotic tribes." (ibid:56). At the end of her book, she reiterates the point: "One of the problems is that we lack an anthropology of our own contemporary cultural *milieux* " (ibid: 243) with which to test her model. What I can offer here is detailed evidence from one area of Britain at one point in time which contributes to the build-up of an ethnographic record of our "cultural *milieux*". In addition, a description of my understanding of this evidence takes Martin's own analysis a little further.

At this point, it seems appropriate to consider more closely the position of our research *vis-a-vis* ethnographic studies of Scotland, and the question of Cauldmoss' place within the wider society.

In his review of Scottish ethnography, Edward Condry states, that from the point of view of the social sciences, concern with Scotland really began in the 18th century when: "through their interest in the development of societies, and their passionate concern in antiquity, the social philosophers of Edinburgh and Glasgow were led to the Highlands, which have since remained the main focus of attention." (Condry 1983:1). Up until the 1950s it was assumed that Scotland was divided into two cultural regions only - the Highlands and the Lowlands, with the former possessing a culture very different from that of most of Britain, characterised as just having emerged from the Iron Age. According to the rural sociologist Carter, Scotland **as a whole** was often seen as an "antediluvian province of England" (Carter quoted in Condry: 37)

During the 1950s, research was carried out by a handful of anthropologists from Edinburgh, and the work they produced laid the foundation for a much wider range of studies in the 1970s, mainly carried out in the Highlands and Islands by anthropologists from abroad. During the eighties, the amount of research in Scotland as a whole seems to have been declining, although the increase in work done in the Lowlands reflects Condry's plea:

> If anthropologists are to concern themselves with Scotland, it should not be because like the Victorian folklorists, they believe that they have a new and undiscovered tribe on their doorstep. The major justification for the. . . interest in Scottish ethnography is that social anthropology is itself changing, and is coming to realise that European societies are open to richer understanding through anthropological methods. (Condry: 106).

Apart from the work of Littlejohn (1963) and Turner (1979, 1980 and 1980a) which I mentioned earlier in this chapter, other anthropological studies of communities in the Lowlands include Neville's (1979) investigation of church ceremony in Southwest Scotland and the town festival of the Border burgh, and Simon Charsley's recent examinations of community, identity and weddings in Glasgow (Charsley 1984, 1986 and 1987).

Having rejected the idea that there exists a characteristically underdeveloped entity called Scottish society, I shall argue along lines laid down in an article by Turner that it is possible to distinguish different cultural areas within Scotland, based on "ethnographically important features [such as] characteristic occupation, style of education, accent, religion, legal system [and] common history of development" (Turner 1980a: 1-2). He argues that the Central Lowlands, which he calls "the political and economic heart of Scotland", the home of four out of every five Scots, forms one such area. However, if other criteria are applied - based on "facts of life" open to varying degrees of local control - then this culture area may be broken down into a series of "subcultures". Turner tells us that these locally-controlled features include "employment options and

housing stock" to some extent, but more importantly,

> religious affiliation and observances; kinship rights, duties and terminology; status systems; residence decisions, including migration; strategies for resolution of local conflicts; creation and maintenance of social borders;"recreation"; dialect and so forth.(Turner ibid: 6).

He goes on to outline nine "ideal types" of Lowlands subculture, ranging from "Glasgow slums" to "Electronics New Towns". Cauldmoss conforms largely to the type Turner calls "East Lowlands Mining Town": "Mostly council houses built between 1920 - 1960. . . mostly Protestant; low level of church going; hereditary miners' culture; high unemployment; low mobility [and] high vandalism" (ibid: 11). However the village also displays features found in Turner's "West Lowlands Mining Towns" such as "solid Labour politics; cynicism about State institutions; extended kinship links; segregated role marriages [and] betting " (ibid: 10-11). It is interesting that people in Cauldmoss themselves commented on the fact that the village is in the middle of the Lowlands, and has characterstics typical of both the East and the West of Scotland. Cauldmoss is situated in an area which the historian Christopher Harvie graphically describes as "an unlovely 'third Scotland' sprawled from South Ayrshire to Fife" (Harvie 1981: 66) (the first two Scotlands presumably being the cities and the Highlands and Islands). This is an area characterised by "many old industrial settlements that ought to have been evacuated and demolished", but have been preserved by "buses, council housing and lack of long-term planning" (ibid). This area, he points out "was neither much liked nor at all well known. Somewhat isolated, ignored, lacking city facilities or country traditions - even lacking the attention of sociologists" (ibid.)

Following on from our research in Cauldmoss, another anthroplogist, Sally Irvine, is at present carrying out ESRC-funded work in a community in Fife. Fife is also the site of an innovative inter-disciplinary study being conducted by sociologists, economists and historians from Edinburgh University (one of whom is Pat Straw, whose thesis I discussed earlier). This forms part of the ESRC's "Social Change and Economic Life Initiative" and is concerned with changing employment patterns and their effect on households and on social relations in the community.

d) Studies of work, leisure and time.

I shall deal in more detail with historical approaches to the relationship between these three topics in Chapter Three, when I examine the development of the Western concept of time. For the moment, I want to focus on recent research, particularly that which looks at

the experience of unemployment, an issue I shall consider in Cauldmoss in Chapter Six. There are as yet very few anthropologists who have worked in the United Kingdom and who have focussed on employment/unemployment conditions, as we did (fewer still have considered the temporal aspects of unemployment). Before the development of large-scale unemployment in the early eighties, much which was written (largely by sociologists) on the issues involved in work concentrated on the varieties of work organisation and their social consequences in the workplace, or on the relative status of different types of occupation. The late seventies saw a growing interest in explanations of motivation to work in terms of increased purchasing power, and in the social role of work in the domestic and public arenas. It was argued that relationships within the family are equally as important in defining the worldview of working men as relations of production, or management ideology. This indicates the need for holistic social studies concerning the concept of work.

As far as "non-work" is concerned, several sociologists also considered the concept of "leisure" during the seventies. For example, Parker and Smith (1976) discuss the link between the individual's attitude towards her/his work, and her/his perception of leisure, but they failed to consider the possibility of collective representations regarding "suitable" leisure activities in a local social system.

Another form of non-work, or rather work outside formal employment, the "informal" economy, was described by the sociologists Gershuny and Pahl (1979 and 1980). This encompasses both the "black" or "hidden" economy (where goods and services are exchanged, often for cash, in transactions that avoid the system of public regulation and taxation), and the "domestic economy" (where households produce their own goods and services rather than buying them). In 1980 Gershuny and Pahl suggested that those with more free time and less income would come to find satisfaction in a move towards increasing self-sufficiency. This overlooked, however, the power of existing values among the groups most likely to experience unemployment; we found in Cauldmoss, for example, that "bought" goods often have more prestige than items made at home. It also overlooks the problem of finding enough money to buy the equipment necessary for many D.I.Y. activities.

Writers such as Haynes (1978) and Clemitson and Rodgers (1981) believe that with the demise of "full employment", new values must arise to replace the work ethic, values involving far more comprehensive means of self-fulfilment, and a breakdown of the boundary between productive work and pleasurable leisure. Dauncey argues that self-help community projects, such as Community Enterprise programmes, workers' co-operatives,

and community organised shops and workshops, could be a positive outcome of widespread unemployment. There are as yet, however, only a relatively small number of such ventures in Britain. His underestimation of the strength of many peoples' attachment to traditional forms of work is further demonstrated by his recommendation that the unemployed individual adopts a positive approach towards leisure activities, co-ordinating existing interests and new ones into a carefully structured programme that will enable the individual to achieve the goals s/he should set for her/himself. Dauncey's own middle-class values are evident in his advice, which many in Cauldmoss would probably find laughable: "Take time to read; take time to listen to your own inner needs; take time to sit quietly and relax, be with friends or just listen to music" (Dauncey 1983: 7).

Within anthropology, attention turned in the seventies to what may be called the "cognitive anthropology of work", based on the recognition that "work" is not a universal concept. As well as investigating the history and etymology of the word in Western culture, anthropologists considered particular communities of competent users of the term in different countries. The 1979 meeting of the Association of Social Anthropologists consisted of a series of papers dealing with these issues, now published under the title **A Social Anthropology of Work**, edited by Sandra Wallman (1979). In her introduction, Wallman notes that work is often evaluated according to its location, and this is especially true in the case of women's work in the home, an assertion we tested in the first questionnaire we carried out in Cauldmoss in 1982 (see below).

By the time we began work in this community, unemployment had become a major issue throughout Britain, particularly in those areas like that in which Cauldmoss is situated, which had relied on heavy industry. This meant that our project was carried out against a background of extensive enquiries going on throughout the country into the social and economic implications of unemployment, although, as I have said, these have mainly been conducted within disciplines other than anthropology. For instance, Adrian Sinfield of the Department of Social Policy, Edinburgh University, has produced very valuable analyses of the impact of high unemployment on Britain as a whole, including its cost in economic terms (1981). Focussing on anthropological approaches to this field of study, Leo Howe (1982) compared the perception of employment of those in work and those out of work in Belfast in terms of socially constructed moral rules. One interesting local development in which Wight and I played a part was a discussion group, the Seminar on Physical, Human and Environmental Resources in the Economy, which culminated in the publication of a book, **Future Employment and Technical Change** (Leach and Wagstaff [eds.] 1986). This examination of the causes and likely development of unemployment in

Britain, and suggestions for strategies to improve the situation, emerged from the collective effort of a mathematician with an interest in the social aspects of technology, an economist, an engineer and several anthropologists.

In December 1983, Turner, Wight and I presented a paper at a large conference in Manchester which was part of the Social Science Research Council's Research Initiative on the Social Dimensions of Economic Activity. The papers, which were published as **New Approaches to Economic Life** (Roberts, Finnegan and Gallie [eds.] 1985) represent an overview of theory and research on changes in the structure of the labour market, on unemployment and its effect on family and community life, and on the changing meaning of work. The majority of the contributions came from sociologists, social psychologists and social economists, but, in addition to our discussion of Cauldmoss (Turner, Bostyn and Wight 1985), there were other anthropological inputs. Richard Jenkins reported on his research, based on ethnographic interviews, into black workers in the labour market in the West Midlands. Sandra Wallman used ethnographic surveys to investigate "the scope for and constraints on ethnicity as a principle of (informal/unofficial) economic organisation and group identity in two inner London areas" (ibid: 184). John Davis made a plea for an "ethnographic approach to economics", pointing out that anthopologists' methods and experience in "exotic economies" have produced valuable insights which may be of use to other disiplines studying the British economy.

More recently, Wight and I contributed to another multi-disciplinary collection of essays edited by Stephen Fineman (1987) in which the focus was on "the realities behind the statistics", the experience of people as individuals and as members of families and communities. Of special relevance for me in this volume was a paper by Fryer and Mckenna on their research, using social psychological methods and models, into unemployed men's experience of time.

Within the various approaches to the meaning and experience of work in Western society, there has been a strand of interest in the phenonenon of time. In social psychology, this was demonstrated in Marie Jahoda's famous research into a depressed community in Austria in the 1930s (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1972). She and her colleagues used methods familiar to anthropologists to produce a sociography of the town. As Fryer and Mckenna point out, although other writers have produced accounts of the impact of unemployment, "to all intents and purposes they are merely notational variants" on Jahoda's formulations (Fryer and Mckenna 1987: 48); Jahoda herself has continued to contribute both to empirical research and to interpretation and criticism in this field. (See Jahoda 1979 and 1982, and Jahoda and Rush 1980.) Fryer himself has carried out more

quantitative studies on time and unemployment, questioning a large sample of unemployed men throughout the United Kingdom, asking them, for example, about their assessment of their ability to "make a start on things", on their ability to concentrate, and on the length of time it took them to do things (Fryer and Warr 1984).

Focussing on time and work, an article by Bernice Martin (which has the intriguing title "Mother Wouldn't Like It; Housework as Magic"), contains valuable insights into women's housework. She sees this in terms of the "control of time, territory and resources in the house" so that "the moralisation of time boundaries is a major source of Mother's domestic power" ((Martin 1984: 26-27).

Another branch of writing on work which also falls within the study of time is that which considers work schedules. Much of this deals primarily with the impact of shift work on health (for example, see Reinberg 1984), or on ergological issues (Kelly and Schneider 1983). Some, however, does consider work schedules in terms of the social evaluation of shiftwork and its effect on ways of life (Brown and Charles 1982).

e) Other secondary sources.

Apart from this literature investigating time, communities and/or work and related issues, I made use of various souces of information on Cauldmoss itself and the surrounding area. These included the 1971 and 1981 Censuses, Valuation Rolls, Electoral Registers, the Old and New Statistical Accounts of Scotland and the local district council's reports and plans. We referred to the Church of Scotland Yearbooks for details of religious life in the village, and found a history of Cauldmoss written in the mid 1970s (by a minister who had been brought up in the parish) very useful, especially since it was criticised by many villagers for its inaccuracies. We were told that the local "laird" had several old documents relating to the area in his possession, but since he was elderly and infirm and spent most of his time away from Cauldmoss, we did not manage to see these. We attempted to get access to old records of parish relief, in order to ascertain the relationship between the current situation and villagers" former experiences, but we were advised of restrictions on the use of such material by staff in the offices responsible, and in the end we did not pursue this line of enquiry. We read the local paper (produced in the nearby town) each week and found it a good source of information on the changing economic situation in the area, and on local value systems and interests.

Practical aspects of fieldwork.

Introduction.

While the traditional sociological technique of large-scale sample surveys is aimed at collecting hard objective data through carefully **regulating** the relationship between questioner and respondent, anthropological fieldwork allows this relationship to be **manipulated** in order to arrive at a more rounded and insightful representation. Such manipulation almost inevitably leads the researcher to some degree of self-analysis, which, in my case, is evident in the following account of our methods. I would agree with Pocock's recommendation that the anthropologist explores her/his "personal anthropology. . . the whole mass of assumptions and evaluations which a person makes about human nature and about society" (Pocock 1975: 7). I see the following sections as a contribution towards the growing body of literature which deals with the anthropologist's experience of fieldwork - especially that written by women, such as Cesara (1982) and Okely (1975). Like Okely, I would question the way in which in anthropological writing,

> The "I" of the observer sometimes disappears altogether as though the material was acquired by impersonal procedures. The classical handbook **Notes and Queries** (1967) tells the fieldworker that really only amateurs suffer from " bias". "Scientific" training successfully obliterates cultural and personal history and presumably the self (Okely ibid: 174).

Our accommodation.

In July 1982, one month after I moved from an office job in London (a month spent doing the only library preparation we had prior to fieldwork), Wight and I moved into a council flat in Cauldmoss. This was provided for us by the local Council Housing Department, who also gave us an assortment of furniture from their store. That summer, the weather was hot, enticing many villagers to go strolling in the surrounding countryside on walks which often took them along the road where we lived, which was one of those leading out of the village. Many were no doubt keen to see us, especially since, before our arrival, a local newspaper had printed a piece about the project (which the librarian had put in the window of the library in Cauldmoss). This described social anthropologists as typically moving into underdeveloped tribal settings in order to study the "primitives".

The flat was situated at the end of a row of two-tier flats built in the 1930s, one of the first

streets of council housing in Cauldmoss, and it had never had any "improvements" made to it, apart from the removal of the kitchen range. For me, the romanticism of having only open fires (even in the bedrooms) was, over the next four years, to give way to frustration at their inadequacy in combatting the dampness and draughts ubiquitous in such houses. Moreover, I was to learn that this type of open fire was far from ideal for cooking on; the village had no gas supply, and its exposed position made it subject to frequent electrical power cuts, especially in winter.

Such are some of the conditions of life for many of the inhabitants of Cauldmoss, although the minority living in the modern privately-owned bungalows or converted cottages lining the approach roads to the village usually have central heating, (and sometimes a gas tank for cooking). Within the council housing scheme that constitutes the core of the village, only those living in the few recently modernised houses (those which in past winters had been most subject to burst pipes) enjoy such comfort.

There were advantages and disadvantages to living as we did at the end of a row on the outskirts of the village. It meant that we had contact with some of those living in the private houses which began where our row ended. These constituted a group culminating in the doctor's rather grand multi-garaged residence (complete with guard dogs and landscaped gardens). It meant that we had some privacy, while we could also participate in the "sub-community" existing in our street of council houses. Our large garden gave us an opportunity to learn about the norms of orderliness, which applied as much to the outside as to the inside of a house. For example, only certain types of plants constituted suitable garden flowers - for example, cultivated roses, **not** wild ones. It also gave us (or rather Wight - horticulture being seen as a"male" activity) the means to produce vegetables. These we used to reciprocate what villagers gave to us - usually meals, or foodstuffs to take home (such as tins, meat, eggs, homemade wine etc).

Our physical location in Cauldmoss produced some quite unexpected opportunities, such as a close-up view of the members of the Orange Lodge with all their regalia, as they prepared for their annual walk through the village in July. They congregated with their banners and their band in the lane next to our house early in the morning that day, and again in the afternoon after their trip to a nearby town, where local lodges formed part of a large scale march. For many, the big march would be followed by "a few drinks". Each year, when the coach brought them back in the afternoon one of the members, with whom I was particularly friendly, would lead a line of marchers to our house to use our toilet. The irony of the situation was that both Wight and I had been brought up as Catholics. My christian name meant that my religious background was apparent to villagers (Wight's

was less so), but my friend, whose attitude was fairly typical in Cauldmoss, said that she did not agree with the religious bigotry which some villagers demonstrated.

Ours was one of two streets, both of them on the physical periphery of the housing scheme, which had also become marginal in a social sense, being used by the local council to house individuals and families that were "problem cases". This was much to the annoyance of the established inhabitants who felt that Cauldmoss was becoming "a dumping ground". Our street was known locally as "The Gorbals of Cauldmoss". These cases included women who had left violent husbands (known locally as "battered wives"), single parents, alcoholics, ex-convicts, and strange researchers. It seemed to be the council's policy that when such cases emerged in the local town (in which the council was based) they would be moved out into surrounding villages. While we had been planning how we would research this community, the housing official in charge of this part of Cauldmoss had been devising an experiment of his own, which involved placing us downstairs from the most problematic of his problem cases. These were two brothers (I called them Rab and Billy in Chapter One) who, during our first summer in Cauldmoss, spent hours sitting in our garden smoking marijunana and/or regaling us with tales of their travels round Britain, of their periods in jail, their experiments with drugs (inluding belladonna and psilocybin mushrooms gathered locally), and their current interest in black magic.

In fact, these men had been born in Cauldmoss but had spent most of their lives in Edinburgh, coming back when their mother returned to the village to take care of their sick grandmother. They were not typical of the inhabitants of Cauldmoss and we soon discovered that they, and their small group of skinhead disciples, were seen by villagers as the embodiment of evil, being blamed for every crime in the village and being cited as the perfect example of the way in which the integrity of the community was being threatened by deviant "incomers".

As is the case with many anthropologists, in the early days of fieldwork, we found ourselves very much involved with such marginal individuals. Since they were our neighbours, and because they were supposed to be so "dangerous", we tried to establish some sort of rapport with them. They were also interesting to us because their position as "outcasts" (as they described themselves) had prompted them to analyse the ways in which this community worked, to a greater degree than many other villagers. They warned us, for example, about the "clannishness" of certain groups in Cauldmoss; they recommended individuals with whom they thought we should talk, and they were more than willing to tell us about the " skeletons in the cupboard" of various villagers.

However, we were concerned that our spending so much time with them would alienate other villagers, and we were anxious to become more involved in mainstream village life. We recognised that those in the "thick of things" in Cauldmoss might be less interested in getting to know us than were Billy and Rab. Already possessing a certain amount of prestige or respectability, other villagers had less to gain from becoming the focus of our attention. A passage by Frankenberg about his early experience in a Welsh community sums up very neatly how I felt at this time:

> When I went to Glynceiriog I was always conscious of my anthropological colleagues' anecdotes of how they sat in the centre of African villages while life went on around them and encompassed them. They could not avoid becoming part of the social processes they wished to observe. In my early days in the village, I would often climb a hill and look sadly down on the rows of houses of the housing estate and wonder what went on inside them. (Frankenberg, 1966: 16)

In order to find out what **did** go on, we soon started work on a questionnaire. Before describing our methods in detail, I shall discuss the way in which we presented ourselves in Cauldmoss and the ways in which we were seen by villagers.

Our identity.

I began this thesis by describing an encounter Wight had with Rab, Billy and the village skinheads in which they demanded to know "whit are ye, actually?", and by outlining the difficulty he had in explaining our aims to them. For most people in Cauldmoss, the idea that a university was employing us to go and live in the village for several years simply in order to find out their views of work, unemployment, etc. was difficult to accept. The amount we were being paid to do this "work" was always of great interest to our informants.

Initially, we introduced ourselves as research workers; some people found this incredible, and the particular concerns of different individuals became evident when we discovered that we were being described as "crime reporters" or "social workers" by some, and as Department of Health and Social Security "snoopers" by others (one man swore he had seen me behind the counter in a Glasgow DHSS office). Eventually, most people came to accept us as "the students", although this description led some to confuse us with students from the local town who came to work on the summer playscheme in Cauldmoss. On the whole, during our time in Cauldmoss, we encountered no real hostility, and only a small number of cold receptions. (I shall say more about the concept of "acceptance" later.) Most people seemed happy to "blether" with us; they wanted to find out about us (especially in

the early days) as much as they welcomed an opportunity to talk about their own experiences.

However, even when we had a consistent label and some sort of place within the community, our situation remained problematic. The accommodation we had been allocated demonstrated to us that we were not to be granted any special privileges, even by those who had some experience of higher education. In a tribal setting in Africa, for example, the Western anthropologist is usually accorded a degree of prestige or power in relation to her informants. (For example, Evans-Pritchard tells us "Azande treated me as a superior; Nuer as an equal" [1940: 15]) The very fact of a white person living in such a society makes her anomalous. Being outside of the locals' classification of individuals she is, to an extent, above the criticism levelled by members of the society against one another. We were fairly "alien" to most of our informants (being long-term researchers, highly educated, and English), but not to the same degree as the British anthropologist working in the third world. While to some extent this allowed us to ask "silly" questions, our ability to relate relatively easily to people in Cauldmoss, and our label as "students", meant that we were under various constraints during our time in the village. As Condry puts it:

> The ethnographer in Scotland often has to accept an inferior position. His presence may be tolerated, but he will not be accorded any special facilities. The ethnographer's status as an academic in a country where a university education is traditionally highly valued may help, but youth and apparent unemployment may contribute to the ethnographer's low social position. (Condry, 1983: 110).

Most folk in Cauldmoss approve of higher education in theory but, in practice, there are many who regard being a student as not "real work", and therefore of questionable value. A Cauldmoss woman, who taught in a high school in another town, told me that during her sixth year at school, when she told people that she was studying for exams, several asked with surprise, "Ye're no' **workin'** yet, then?" This was a question we heard regularly in conversations between people in the village, addressed both to school-leavers and to older men who were out of work, and it reveals just how important work is for people there. Going back to the question of our role as students, after enquiring about Wight's age, one woman in Cauldmoss asked him if he did not think that 25 was "awfi' old to be student?", a comment relevant to villagers' ideas about time.

Although our age and our behaviour did not really fit the standard view of studenthood, we felt that we were not exempt from conforming, if not to this role, then to the norms governing the particular group in the community with which we happened to be. Having said that our role did not endow us with the prestige of being "real workers" in Cauldmoss,

I should point out that some of our behaviour **was** seen as proper work, as we discovered when we asked in our first questionnaire how individuals would classify the sort of thing we were doing in carrying out the questionnaire. (This was an activity which some villagers compared to that of door-to-door salespersons or to that of those collecting money for charity.) However, our attempts to explain our absence from the scene when we sat in the house reading and writing, in terms of this being part of our "work", was not so acceptable to them. We constantly felt pressurised by informants' comments to be out and about in the village, although this, of course, meant even more notes to write up. In order to avoid duplicating fieldnotes, Wight and I took it in turns to record our joint conversations with informants. We also pooled notes relating to occasions each of us spent alone with villagers.

We learnt that we could emphasise particular aspects of our behaviour with particular informants in order to maximise our credibility in their eyes - playing-up our academic role with the middle-class private house dwellers, for example, while focussing on our experience of poverty and unemployment with those who were in this position themselves. This seemed to work fairly well in that we felt that we were accepted by the different sets of villagers (I shall discuss the different groups within the village in Chapter Five). Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes, in a fascinating paper describing her work as a "native anthropologist" in Goa, similarly describes how she adopted "a multiple-native strategy with a chameleon-like virtuosity, in the hope of achieving a higher degree of cultural consonance in different contexts" (1987: 182). We found that elderly informants were especially disturbed by our reference to "Edinburgh University", which often led them to see our questions as an intelligence test: "Is it fer the university? Oh no, I cannae' help ye - I dinnae' ken onythin'!" On only one occasion did a villager ask to see "yer credentials" - a letter from the university verifying my position as a researcher.

Apart from our financial situation, the other issue which interested villagers, especially in the first months of fieldwork, was that of our domestic arrangements. Villagers often referred to us as man and wife, although we felt it was best to be honest and to point out that we were not married; our relationship was a working one. More "polite" informants would then simply ask if, for example, we cooked together. But others wanted to know if we were more intimately involved. We soon realised that our denials were only slightly reassuring for those (usually church-going older women) who felt it somewhat shocking that we were expected to share a flat. Moreover, there were many, (usually younger people, especially men) who either simply did not believe us, or who decided that we must be crazier than they had originally thought, because we were **not** sleeping together.

In any event, it proved to be important that there were two of us, one female and one male, carrying out the research. Activities in Cauldmoss tend to be segregated according to sex, and between us we could take part in the various spheres of life there. In addition, we were able to learn what team work involves. For example, we sometimes disagreed over questions ranging from how to decorate the flat to how best to interpret an informant's comments or actions, or how to generalise from our material. On the whole however, we got along well, and I certainly missed Wight when he left Cauldmoss. For reasons that will become apparent below, a single woman doing fieldwork on her own needs to be particularly aware of the the potential difficulties facing her.

Over time, we discovered the ways in which men and women are regarded and treated differently in Cauldmoss, not only from observing relationships among villagers themselves, but from their responses to us. Of course, it is difficult to separate out the effects of different variables when considering bias in such work. Not only are Wight and I of different sexes, but I am from a working-class Yorkshire background and have a Yorkshire accent, while Wight comes from a middle-class family in Kent. Personality factors should also be considered, although Nadel suggests that teamwork may be one way of "overcoming the limits of personality" in the field (Nadel 1951:50).

I tended to spend a lot of time sitting and chatting to villagers, while Wight's approach was more focussed and his manner more "to-the-point". When we analysed the data we had collected using the first questionnaire, it emerged that members of the sample had responded in different ways to each of us. Villagers provided detailed responses (often including much material extraneous to our requirements) to my questioning, in contrast to the shorter, more direct answers Wight elicited. Perhaps he was seen as a figure of authority, an official, to a greater extent than I was. Later, it seemed that more people were willing to complete the time and money budgets (see below) at my request than they were when asked by Wight. I felt that while the women in the community were often prepared to be very open with both of us, on the whole the men tended to take Wight more seriously than me. For example, while carrying out our first questionnaire, I asked one man how he would descibe the activity of taking a dog for a walk. He replied that he would rather take me for a walk.

I learnt most about how women are viewed (by some, at least) in Cauldmoss during the time I spent living alone there. Several times, I was the object of sexual advances by men. On one particularly noteworthy occasion, I had to chase a man, who had sneaked into the house, up the path brandishing the garden shears. One day while I was sitting on the doorstep two boys cycled past, and I overheard one tell the other "That's the abandoned

wife", a label he had presumably heard applied to me by adults around him. It seemed that because I had chosen to stay on by myself in Cauldmoss, renunciating the protection or legitimation provided by Wight or any other male partner, I was, by my very situation, conveying a message of openness to the type of approach I have described. Shirley Ardener points out that, whereas female anthropologists in small-scale societies overseas may lack the critical "specification-markers" of women, within one's own culture this is not the case (Ardener 1984: 126). Like Judith Okely, who lived with gypsies in Southern England, I had assumed that my unusual situation would render me almost an "honorary male" in villagers' eyes. I found that this was not the case, and like Okely, "had to be careful and more conscious of myself as female" (Okely 1975: 176; see also Hastrup 1987).

The paradox of wishing to become a real part of the community while having to maintain some objectivity - some sense of distance between oneself and one's informants - is highlighted when one tries to extricate oneself sufficiently to present a coherent and balanced account of one's findings to an audience back in the academic world from which one comes. In my case these two worlds - the village and the university - were only thirty miles apart, which meant I could experience this switch in orientation much more frequently than most fieldworking anthropologists, and this provided a regular opportunity to assess our approach and our findings. During the first year of fieldwork, however, not only was I surprised to feel "culture-shock" when I went to Cauldmoss (after all this was a village only a few miles from a well-known Scottish town), but also to feel it to some degree every few weeks when I returned to Edinburgh.

While not suggesting that Cauldmoss was a "Brigadoon", it is interesting that I felt that while I was in Cauldmoss, time had stopped in some way. Coming back to Edinburgh, I would find that it had run on, and I had to catch up quickly. I can well imagine (and have indeed witnessed the fact) that the fieldworker returning to her own society after a year or two in an exotic location finds it hard to readjust, but eventually does so by recognising that her experiences in the field belong to a period of her life that has now ended, and can be looked back on, and made sense of, from a new perspective. For Wight and I, the situation is different in that, even though we no longer live in Cauldmoss, we still maintain frequent contact with some of our informants, visiting them every few months (especially at holiday times such as Gala Day and Hogmanay), and by letter and telephone. Several of them have also visited us in Edinburgh.

I would like at this point to explore my own sense of time in the field in a little more detail since it affected the way in which I approached my informants in Cauldmoss, and the task of writing-up after fieldwork. Pat Straw says that the 18 months she spent on

fieldwork was "a long time"; for me, four years was too long. As I have explained, there was a practical reason to stay on in the village after two years (the maximum period most researchers spend in the field) - we wanted to keep our accommodation while we waited for another grant for the project. But why did I then go on to remain there for a year longer than was strictly necessary?

Looking back, I think I had succumbed to a state of mind which, I have since discovered, other fieldworkers experience - a kind of limbo in which one feels one is neither a "proper" academic nor a "real" villager. The enthusiasm I had experienced earlier in fieldwork had worn off, although I was not fully aware at the time of the strain involved in doing non-stop fieldwork over a long period. Being a source of interest in the village meant having little privacy; trying not to alienate people involved continually suppressing my own views, and being in Cauldmoss meant having little contact with people who shared my own concerns and values. In addition, the previous year had been one of several traumas - my car was written-off while parked outside the flat; a young woman (who had become a friend as well as a key informant) committed suicide; the flat had been burgled by our upstairs neighbour, and later, while he was in jail for a different offence, the pipes in his empty flat burst and my flat was badly flooded.

The everyday pressures of living in the village felt all-consuming; meanwhile I worried that what I was writing did not adequately reflect the level of insight someone "should" have attained after all that time in the field. I spent hours sitting at my desk in Cauldmoss staring into the fire and producing little, having lost not only the ability to take stock of where I stood in terms of my life-time development, but also the energy to organise my time effectively on a day-to-day basis. My experience was, I think, very much akin to that of many of the unemployed in Cauldmoss, although where they described having nothing to do, nothing to look forward to and no enthusiasm for anything, I felt I was doing nothing but one thing all the time - writing notes.

Perhaps this exaggerates my situation a little, but I believe that I, like many of those without work with whom I talked, lacked a structure in my life, consisting of clearly differentiated and purposeful activities occurring in an orderly sequence. As I shall argue in more detail in Part Three, this is a vital source of meaning in individuals' lives, and it applies not just to daily activities but to one's changing role through life. While I felt neither a real villager nor an academic, unemployed men, having lost their position as worker and breadwinner, and hence some of their status as husband and father, often feel devoid of a clear identity within the family and in the community.

All this is not to say that I found no enjoyment in being in Cauldmoss. I did, and reading over my fieldnotes often makes me laugh very much. I learnt a great deal from my time in Cauldmoss, not only about life in a working-class community in Scotland, but also about life in general. As Lewis says, during fieldwork, "the tyro anthropologist discovers almost as much about himself as about the people he has come to study" (1976: 27).

Our relationships.

The fieldworker must be sufficiently sensitive to avoid offending informants and to analyse her experience and data in a useful way, and she also needs to be tough enough to withstand being the target of gossip, criticism, and on occasion hostility. She must also reconcile the fact that she may establish genuine frienships with informants, while at the same time (largely unbeknown to them) she is using their comments as data. I found this type of exploitation difficult to live with, especially after I had shared some very intense experiences with people in the village - for example, with the parents and friends of the girl who committed suicide.

On the other hand, the researcher needs to be aware of the fact that informants may be manipulating her, and she must be firm enough to withdraw from any relationship which is likely to be problematic. In addition, while trying not to alienate informants through avoiding stating her own views too forcefully, it is important that she maintains a sense of her own integrity and identity. Ablon points to the fact that "the potential of actual value conflicts with our informants becomes real when we deal with persons who live and interact within our own cultural world." (1977: 70). The times when I felt particularly alienated from folk in Cauldmoss were when, for example, they demonstrated stereotypical views of women, and of feminists in particular. (One man asked me, "You're not one o' them 'burn-yer-bra' lot, are you?".) Or when they discussed homosexuality, which they often did with much mirth, or revealed a lack of tolerance towards various other groups, such as blacks, incomers, "kids", etc.

To what extent did Wight and I feel that we were "accepted" by people in Cauldmoss? More fundamentally, what does it mean to be "accepted"? The Oxford English Dictionary gives various definitions of this term; it means to 1) "consent to receive (persons)"; 2) "regard with favour"; 3) "tolerate; submit to; receive as adequate or valid; allow the truth of; believe". In terms of fieldwork, what these definitions imply is an image of the researcher being allowed to join the group without its members feeling the need to question her presence, or, to go one step further, an image of her being enthusiastically welcomed

into the group. It means more than just a lack of objection to one's being there. The treatment we received in Cauldmoss ran the gamut of these reactions, varying from individual to individual and also changing over time. As I said earlier, there was only a small number of people who refused to talk to us (mainly elderly women afraid of opening the door to strangers), and even fewer who expressed any hostility towards us. There were relatively few who were clearly only tolerating us, and would have preferred not to have to deal with us at all. In general, we felt that villagers were willing to get to know us, and, just as we gradually became less self-conscious in our participation in activities in Cauldmoss, so their questions about our reason for being there, about our own lives and about our views on different issues, became fewer in number, especially in the case of those individuals whom we got to know well. There were no particular sub-groups in the community with which we had no real contact, either at the "respectable" or the "deviant" end of the spectrum.

By the time I left, I felt I had become part of the scene for many villagers, to the extent that I would be missed by some of them. One elderly neighbour wrote to me after I left Cauldmoss, telling me that this was the first letter he had ever written in his life. Like other villagers, we had become characters in tales of various exploits we had shared with them, stories which they enjoy reiterating. Activities captured in such tales occur at periods of licence such as Hogmanay, or on special outings, including nights out in the nearby town. These stories also serve to encapsulate what is seen as characteristic of a particular individual, in my case, this concerned various mishaps (what my friends in Cauldmoss called "wee accidents") I had with my car and other machinery. Wight's liking for "natural" food and homemade goods was seen as somewhat eccentric and was commemorated in such stories.

The extent to which we were accepted by villagers is, of course, important in considering the validity of our findings. Wight was warned by one man that someone coming to Cauldmoss just to do a questionnaire round the houses is likely to find that people will say whatever they think the questioner wants to hear, in order to get rid of him. An advantage of participant-observation as opposed to sample surveys is that it provides an opportunity to assess the motivation of one's respondents, to learn about the reasons why someone gives either very little information, or is especially keen to help the researcher. Participation in village life over a long period allows both individual inhabitants and the researcher to find out how far they can trust one another.

One (somewhat paradoxical) indication of how far villagers accepted me, which also highlights their ambivalent attitude towards higher education and our project in

particular, was the way in which after a while they would tease us about our work, saying, for example, that it was "a load o' hooie!" or "a lot o' nonsense", and our questions were "stupid". Or, during an evening in the pub, they would point out good-humouredly that folk had better watch what they say because we would go home and write it all down. On the other hand, on several occasions I was told by those I got to know well: "Ye're just like one o'us", or even "Anne Marie's one o' us noo".

Even in the early days of fieldwork, we found that many people in the village seemed concerned with our well-being, expressing sympathy at our plight in having been sent to an out-of-the-way place like Cauldmoss (see Chapter Four for a discussion of the village's image), having to live in such a "bad bit" of the village, and having to go round trying to persuade people to talk to us. Several people pointed out that we just would not be "used to" a place like Cauldmoss and the people there. One woman warned me to be careful in my dealings with various individuals; "Ye're jist a young lass - ye've come here fra' England; ye havenae' a clue!" Our Englishness was something that was commented on frequently by villagers, usually by way of teasing us about our lack of experience of Scottish customs. Drawing attention to our nationality was often a means of reinforcing their own sense of identity; for example, the fact that the village has traditionally been a stronghold of the Labour Party was emphasised when a man we met at a dance accused Wight and I of being the only Tory voters in Cauldmoss.

During our time in Cauldmoss, many villagers helped us in many different ways - not simply by agreeing to be interviewed or to fill in time and money budgets, but by introducing us to other villagers, by taking us out (to the local pubs and clubs, on shopping expeditions, on trips to places of interest), and by feeding us. Several gave us advice and encouragement. Some gave us furniture and curtains, a rug, a clock, and plants. They lent us lawnmowers, books, even money on one occasion, although I had not wanted it. They tried to help with many of our difficulties, such as getting my "motor" fixed, and allowed us to share in their problems. Several gave us real affection. During the first months of fieldwork, informants were often unwilling to divulge to us the actual names of people whose behaviour they criticised. I took it as a measure of our acceptedness when we began to become part of gossip networks; it meant that we were more able to see through the "fronts" that some individuals were presenting, not only to us, but to other villagers, and it gave us insights into social norms and methods of social control. Before trying to quantify the different types of relationship we established with people in Cauldmoss, I shall describe our methods in more detail.

Participant-observation.

Our principal method, as I have indicated, was to participate in as many activities as possible in the village in order to observe people's actions and ideas. We began with the sort of informal relationship with our neighbours which I have described, and then moved on to take part in the meetings of various organisations in the village as a way of getting to know those from different sub-groups within the population. We regularly attended services at the Church of Scotland ("the Kirk"), to which most villagers claimed allegiance, although only a small number were church-goers. We occasionally joined the larger congregation at the Catholic chapel, and the handful who attended the Church of Christ. We joined in activities organised by the Kirk's social committee, such as concerts, whist drives and a social evening held to celebrate the induction of the new minister. I also took part in a sewing-bee organised to make items for the Kirk's Christmas Fair, and a Christmas party held for the children at the Sunday School.

I went to coffee mornings run by the Women's Guild, an organisation connected to the Kirk, and also to the monthly meetings of the Women's Rural Institute. I went on "the Rural's" trips (to a bed-linen factory one year, and to Blair Castle the next), and to its birthday party in a nearby restaurant. These organisations tended to be womanned by the same individuals, many of whom lived in private houses in Cauldmoss, although the membership of the Rural (which at about a hundred was larger than that of the other institutions) included many older married women from the council-housing scheme. Many of the members of the Rural and their husbands were also members of the Bowling Club, although they were not all active bowlers and simply joined in social events at the clubhouse. These included "Ladies Nights" (to which I went) and a party for member's children or grandchildren at Christmas.

At the other end of the scale of "respectability", I spent many evenings playing bingo for cash in the social club. I also played "prize bingo" at sessions held regularly in the community centre to raise money, for example for cancer research or for Chapel funds. This was a form of the game that was acceptable to the more "respectable" women in the community, and it also attracted some children and old men. Both men and women played bingo for money, although the club sessions in Cauldmoss tended to be frequented mainly by women and some older men; younger men went with their wives to play for much bigger winnings in the bingo halls in nearby towns.

We were told that the social club had been built several years earlier on the initiative of a group of Freemasons in Cauldmoss, who were dissatified with the Masonic Hall's ban on

Sunday drinking. It contained a large bar, a games room and a hall, and besides bingo, offered video shows, discos, keep-fit sessions, and concerts by country-and-western or other types of groups. I went to various functions held there during my time in Cauldmoss. The Masonic Hall, which was used for meetings of the Orange Lodge too, also had cash bingo sessions and Saturday night "sing-songs". The latter consisted of different people getting up from the audience to sing, ending in a finale of "God Save the Queen" and the Protestant hymn 'The Old Rugged Cross".

Both Wight and I spent quite a lot of time at the community centre. Apart from bingo evenings, I went to discos there, to weekly keep-fit classes, and I made use of the "community cafe" set up by several women involved in raising funds for, and organising, the summer playscheme I mentioned earlier. I also participated in the playscheme itself, taking children to the swimming pool in a nearby town, for example. I worked as a "leader" at one of the youth clubs in the Centre for a while, although I felt rather superfluous because there were already more leaders than necessary.

We took part in the various annual events - the Harvest Festival and Memorial Day services at the Kirk, and the Gala Day (recently revived and an occasion of much excitement), with all of its attendant events. These included a "Mr. and Mrs."competition held in the social club, a sports quiz in the Masonic Hall and a dance in the school. I spent several Hogmanays in Cauldmoss, although I was not there on Christmas day itself, which was in any case seen as less important in the village. I attended the weddings of two villagers, one in Cauldmoss itself and one in the local town (see Chapter Six). Wight and I attended a christening in the Kirk, as well as the special communion services. I actually took communion at one of these after one of my key informants, a church elder, had asked permission from the minister. We were present at the induction ceremony of this minister, and later, at the ordination of a new kirk elder.

On a more informal basis, I spent countless hours in the houses of various individuals, especially those of several young married or divorced women who formed a network of friends - chatting with them, watching television, drinking tea and sometimes alcohol, and eating meals. We sometimes went out together to one or other of the clubs I have mentioned, or to one of the three bars in Cauldmoss. Alternatively, I went there with Wight, though never on my own, which would have put me even more clearly in the category of "fair game". At their suggestion, I even went to visit one of these women and her family while they were on holiday on the coast, and we spent a day wandering round the town, visiting the slot machine arcade and playing on the apparatus along with her children in the children's playground (an example of the "framed liminality" to which

Martin refers [1981]). I spent the odd night sleeping at the house of one lot of informants, on occasions when they felt I needed "looking after", such as when my flat was especially damp.

Wight spent more time in the pubs than I did, and was more involved with activities at the community centre. For example, he drove a minibus full of youth-club members to Aviemore and spent a weekend skiing with them there. He also went along to sessions of the Unemployment Club (which mainly attracted young men) held several times a week in the Centre. He was able to visit a large pit several miles from Cauldmoss with one of our neighbours who worked there, and he went on fishing and ferreting expeditions with lads from the village.

It had been our original intention to find jobs in the village if possible, so that we could experience working alongside people there. However, there was only a very limited amount of work in Cauldmoss itself and we felt that villagers would resent the fact that we, as incomers, had taken a job, when so many of them were desperately searching for work. However, we did participate in "informal" work of an illicit kind, Wight digging for coal at the side of a burn on private land along with two neighbours, and me digging potatoes in a field owned by the Coalboard with a woman and her boyfriend. Joining in such activities was a way of demonstrating to those villagers who engaged in any form of stealing or "fiddling" that we could to some extent be trusted. It played a part in encouraging individuals to be frank in their replies to our questions, especially about their involvement in the "black economy".

The first questionnaire.

In order to increase the range of villagers with which we came into contact, we carried out a questionnaire during the first months of fieldwork (See Appendix Two). This covered a random sample - every tenth house on the Electoral Register - 69 of the households in the community. We questioned 104 individuals, which was almost 8% of the adult population. Our rather grand aim in doing the questionnaire was to compile an ethno-lexicographical record of terms relating to work and leisure in Cauldmoss. We asked respondents to classify 45 different activities as "work or something else", the activities in question being inspired by Gershuny and Pahl's (1980) description of the "three economies" to which I referred earlier. To these we added the category of "leisure" and various "miscellaneous" activities, such as visiting a sick neighbour or going to sign-on. The questionnaire also included questions about the respondent's age, length of residence in

the village, job, education and religious affiliation. It asked for information about the respondent's children, where they lived and their occupations. We questioned the head of the household and her/his spouse (or another adult member of the household). Our initial round of questioning involved a refusal rate of 13.5%, and we used the second round to ensure that we had representative proportions of men and women, and council and private house dwellers over all. We used twenty codes to classify the 4680 answers we received in response to our list of activities - covering different types of work, "pleasure", "leisure", "necessity", "unenjoyable", and answers that simply expressed a "morally positive" or negative view, etc. A detailed account of the methods and results of our 1982 questionnaire may be found in the appendix to Turner, Bostyn and Wight, 1984. I will summarise our findings when I consider time and work at the end of Chapter Six (see also Appendix Three).

The second questionnaire.

Towards the end of 1985, we carried out a second questionnaire (see Appendix Three), immediately followed by a time and money budget survey (Appendices Four and Five). This was something we had always intended to leave until the end of fieldwork because we felt that the success of the survey depended on as long- and as well-established a relationship with informants as we could achieve. Moreover, we were concerned that we might cause offence to our informants by asking for details of income and expenditure, and we wanted to avoid risking this at an earlier stage in our fieldwork. The difficulties of collecting and analysing time budgets have been considered by Szalai (1972), for example, who reports on an international study, and by Gershuny and Thomas (1982) who describe the use of this technique in the U.K.

For the second questionnaire, we aimed to return to all the households we had covered in our first questionnaire, this time questioning just one adult member. We asked about the employment situation of household members, and about that of children who had left home. This allowed us to see how conditions had changed since 1982. We then asked a series of questions on the way respondents used their time; for example, when s/he got up and went to bed; whether there were any days or weeks that stood out for her/him, and whether her/his family celebrated special occasions. The questionnaire then dealt with various aspects of household income and attitudes towards money, such as how the respondent would use more money or would adapt to a lower income, which member(s) of the family had control of household finances, and whether the household had any commitments in terms of regular payments. The questionnaire ended by asking whether the household possessed various pieces of equipment (telephone, car, videos, clocks, etc.)

and whether the respondent and/or her/his spouse wore a watch and used a calendar and/or a diary.

It should be obvious from these questions, that by this stage in fieldwork, Wight and I were clear on which aspects of Cauldmoss life we wanted to focus for the purposes of our individual theses. The characteristics of the sample and the results of the second questionnaire are presented in Appendix Three, and the findings summarised in Chapter Six. In all, with the second questionnaire, we managed to acquire information from 51 of our original sample of 69 households - roughly half of the remaining 18 families had moved from the village, or the householder had died; of the others, we could persuade no family member to help us this time round. Where original respondents had moved house within the village, we traced them and asked them to reply to the new questionnaire. We decided once more to aim at covering 10% of households on the latest Electoral Register, which meant 62 houses, and, once the 51 original families had been questioned, we made up our sample by approaching those families now living in the houses previously occupied by 1982 respondents who had since moved.

The time and money budget surveys.

Apart from eliciting information on the various topics I have mentioned, the purpose of the questionnaire was to re-establish contact with members of our earlier sample. Although we had got to know several of these people quite well following the first questionnaire, there were many who had remained acquaintances only. Our aim was to build on these relationships in the hope of persuading as many folk as possible to complete the budget sheets. Originally, we envisaged enlisting the help of about 50 households, and, for the time budget, we planned to ask each of them to fill in daily record sheets for seven days in a row, giving the hour-by-hour activities of household members. However, the poor results of a small pilot study we conducted led us, in the end, to leave a number of daily sheets with our volunteers, asking them (and other household members if possible) to complete as many as they could. As for the money budget, we had hoped to obtain (from the families who agreed to do the time sheets) a weekly spending profile, based on categories of goods and services taken from the Family Expenditure Survey. We also planned to ask for general information on the amount of income received by different household members during the previous month and its source(s). In the event, we used a shorterned version of the weekly expenditure sheet, and asked simply for the total household income, either for the week in question or the previous month. In fact, some people did provide more information on this, breaking down their total income into

benefits, wages, bingo winnings, etc.

Figures on the subsamples within the time budget sample may be found in Appendix Three, where I also describe the problems we encountered in attempting to use this particular method of collecting data. Chapter Six includes reference to the results of this exercise.

The questionnaires and surveys we did in Cauldmoss provided us with a large amount of quantitative information which we could use to supplement the material we had amassed using qualitative techniques. I feel that, had a researcher in such a situation used **purely** quantitative methods, then the validity of her findings would be highly questionable. Sample surveys of groups such as the unemployed often have serious limitations, in terms of the lack of co-operation of those who may be bending or breaking the rules. In 1979, for example, a large Manpower Services Commission survey found that over 38% of a random sample of benefit claimants were unwilling to be questioned. I believe that the time we spent interviewing and just chatting to people prompted their frankest admissions.

Interviews.

In the course of fieldwork, we carried out around forty detailed structured interviews, each consisting of up to fifty questions. The areas covered were the individual's perception of the village, and beliefs about whether the situation there had changed in recent years; her/his attitudes towards, and experience of, work and unemployment, and her/his view of the attitudes and behaviour of others in Cauldmoss in regard to work; her/his opinions on state welfare provision, and politics, and her/his expectations for the future; her/his knowledge of, and feelings about, the informal economy; her/his leisure activites. In addition, in the last year of fieldwork, I introduced a range of specific questions on the use and experience of time. Most individuals in Cauldmoss with whom I discussed my concern with time did not see it as a very relevant or interesting topic for investigation; some even told me it was "nonsense".

Out of interest, what sort of study **would** have been likely to meet with their approval? Only reseach which is done in order to assess, and ideally to **change**, policy was seen as worthwhile by most people; asking about someone's experience of unemployment, for example, was held to be only really useful if the results were going to encourage government ministers to rethink benefit regulations. Enquiring as to people's feelings about living in Cauldmoss was legitimate if it was likely to lead the local bus company to

reduce its fares. One girl asked me if her answering my questions would get a swimming pool built in the village.

If I could not justify my work in terms of its practical outcome, then, in my informants' eyes, I should at least be asking "interesting" questions. Individuals sometimes found our questions quite exasperating. If I knew the person well, s/he often seemed to prefer to discuss the latest gossip, while, even among those I did not really know, there were several who wanted an opportunity to complain about their financial circumstances or tell me about other problems they were experiencing. One young unemployed man told me, as I persevered with my questions about time, "But it's havin' a job that's important!", which emphasises the equation frequently made in Cauldmoss between time and money. It pays the researcher to be aware that some informants may be exaggerating certain details in order to make an "ideological" point; for example by claiming that welfare benefits **never** allow them a night out. (I shall consider the use of absolute terms relating to time such as "never" and "always" in Chapter Five.)

Apart from talking about money and jobs, other aspects of life which I think would have met with more approval were food, illness and death, sex and reproduction, incomers, and crime. All of these could, of course, be looked at in terms of a temporal framework, and it is interesting that Straw (op.cit.) reports that illness was the most frequently mentioned topic in the interviews she conducted in a nearby town.

Since time was seen in abstract terms by very few informants, I had to learn others ways of uncovering their attitudes. For example, one question I tried in interviews was "Do you tend to think much about the future?" In reply to this, one woman said "No", but when I went on to ask if she ever thinks about what will happen to her father or her daughter over the next few years (and, later, whether she had any plans for the next day, or for the following week) it became clear, that, according to my frame of reference, she **often** thinks about, and makes arrangements for, "the future". My mistake was in posing the question in terms of my categories of thought rather than hers. On the other hand, asking this type of broad question about the future sometimes prompted an informant to tell me about her/his personal theories on the relationship between past, present and future and about the meaning of life. To restrict my questions to details of informants' immediate and more long-terms plans, or to their feelings about their children's prospects, would have been too constraining, and may not have revealed the natural philosophers in the community.

In trying to research any topic, especially one with complicated abstract elements like time, it is important to understand the nature of communication within the group of people

under investigation. In Cauldmoss (just as in the academic world), although quite a lot of conversation was concerned with the latest news in the community, much of it consisted in repeating old news - tales and aphorisms well known to all present. There is analysis in Cauldmoss (for instance, of the relationships between people, or the reasons for some behaviour or event), but it occurs to a lesser extent than in the academic or middle-class sphere. As Hoggart points out: "working-class people, with their roots so strongly in the homely and personal and local . . . [have] little training in more general thinking" (1958: 77). This fact, together with a lack of experience in answering questions about their personal views (especially where an informant felt that s/he should try to give the "right" answer) explains the ambivalence I occasionally met in talking to people in the village.

We interviewed individuals from all the different sections of the population in Cauldmoss: owner-occupiers and council-house tenants; men and women; workers, housewives, the unemployed; young, middle-aged and elderly. We interviewed individuals with varying degrees of patronage within, or with special insight on, the community - including the minister, church elders, the priest, local employers, the doctor, teachers, the Youth and Community Worker, etc. We also informally interviewed a member of staff at the local Jobcentre, although the local office of the Department of Employment was unwilling to help us. Through contacts made at a conference on welfare benefits held in Bannockburn we were able to secure interviews with high-ranking officials in the Department of Health and Social Security and the Department of Employment for Scotland. These were very revealing and provided information on both the national situation and that at local level.

When interviewing people in the village, we made a point of asking how representative of Cauldmoss folk as a whole the interviewee felt her/his opinions were, which sometimes prompted very revealing self-examination on the part of the informant. We found that using a tape -recorder posed no great difficulty; people usually forgot about the machine, even when they had been unsure about it initially. However, it was still important to give them the option to turn it off at any stage.

Genealogies were also drawn up, covering roughly 10% of the population, and including occupational information. We found this a useful research method for understanding the links between individuals, especially since people enjoyed talking about their relatives, and were pleased to be given a family tree at the end of it. (See Appendix Two.)

Over the total of almost six years Wight and I spent between us in Cauldmoss we had

conversations with hundreds of people there - we probably talked, to varying extents, with about a third of the adult population, which numbers approximately 1300, as well as with many children and teenagers. I feel that, of all the different groups, the one with which I had least contact was probably the teenagers. Wight was much more successful in this, due to his involvement with the youth clubs. When I did manage to talk with young people in a one-to-one situation, I had interesting discussions with them. But when I met them in a group, on the street for example, the conversation tended to consist of a quickfire exchange, with them asking more questions than me. In the opening chapter of **The Nuer** Evans-Pritchard's frank description of his fieldwork includes an example of a typical conversation he had with a tribesman in the frustrating early days in the field. Following his example, I shall set out an exchange I had, which reveals the sorts of things in which girls in Cauldmoss were interested.

One day, two months after we started work there, I walked past a group of girls aged between about ten and fourteen sitting on the wall next to the disused petrol station. One of them came over to me and asked if I was "the student". I said I was and they all gathered round. One of them asked:
"Aren't ye livin' with a man?"
"Yes."
"Oooh. . . is he yer lover?"
"No."
"Who do ye sleep with then?"
"My teddy."
"Bet ye've got boyfriends a' over the place".

They asked where I was going with my questionnaire, and wanted to see my "list". I asked where they all lived. They wanted to know where I stayed exactly. When I told them, they asked whether I was not scared of my neighbour "up the stair?" I told them: "Nothing's happened to make me scared". "That's all **ye** know!" they said, and went on to tell me how his girlfriend had been found dead, lying outside the front door last winter. (This was a favourite [true] story among people in Cauldmoss, used to emphasise the deviancy of our neighbour, who had in fact been in jail at the time.) The girls asked what Wight and I did in the evenings, "Do ye have a video?". At the time we did not even have a television, something which shocked them. They began telling me where they had travelled; one, who had been to the United States, asked me if I had been to Disneyland. They then went on to examine my clothes; telling me that my shoes looked like "boys' shoes". "Don't ye have a mini-skirt?", they asked, before leaving to go into the community centre.

Even a short exchange like this one was rich in ethnographic detail and suggested various "leads" on life in the village which we could follow-up: sexual morality; ideas about deviancy, or about leisure; beliefs about gender roles, etc.

Probably my biggest challenge came **after** fieldwork in attempting to make sense of the huge amount of data we had collected between us. Apart from the results of the questionnaires and the budget surveys, and the notes we made on the informal conversations we had with respondents while carrying these out, we had the equivalent of over 4000 A4 pages of fieldnotes, including transcripts of interviews. I made the mistake of spending almost all the time I was in Cauldmoss on talking to people, or on writing up notes or interviews, rather than on analysing our data. I tried to write down everything I could recall, on the assumption that, even if it did not seem terribly relevant in terms of our current interests, it might come in useful later. (Perhaps this reflects the situation which used to obtain for many fieldworkers, who could look forward to a career in academia involving a whole series of writings based on her/his fieldwork and follow-up visits; it is certainly not an approach that is conducive to the quick production of a thesis, something which has become imperative due to UGC pressure and the race to find a job.) On the other hand, one of our aims was to provide an ethnographic record of life in the village, and **everything** that happened was grist to that mill.

Our notes took the form of a chronological record, although we tried to arrange the material within each conversation into distinct subject areas. While in the field we began compiling an index for our notes in order to locate either all references to a particular individual, or to specific topics. However, this proved to be extremely time-consuming, and we tended to leave this activity to a vague future point when we would have more time.

Some epistemological, ideological and ethical aspects of fieldwork.

Introduction.

In critically appraising our aims and methods in Cauldmoss, I feel that it is important to be aware of the issues underlying work such as ours both in terms of its relationship with traditional anthropological studies, and in terms of other research that has been done by social scientists in Britain. As I said earlier, those anthropologists who have undertaken

fieldwork within this society have tended to focus on its margins in a geographical sense, where the exotica which is the trademark of anthropology was most likely to be found. As Lewis puts it, "each piece of field research aims at achieving a "scoop" which will redound to the anthropologist's credit, and the more interesting and exciting the raw data the better" (1976: 26). He goes on to make the point that fieldwork has "assumed the character of tribal ordeal or initiation rite, the performance of which. . . is virtually indispensable if one is to gain professional status"(ibid: 27), which may encourage those working in their own society to exaggerate the "culture shock" they felt when first in the field. Wight and I have certainly been teased by other anthropologists who have contrasted our research with "real anthropology" or "real fieldwork".

However, constraints on funding, and a need to make work within the social sciences more relevant to this society's needs as a whole, have led to a growth in the social sciences in general,in "poverty studies" and "unemployment studies", focussed especially on groups within large urban centres. It is true that the various social sciences benefit from (some would say exploit) the fact that the group in our society which suffers most clearly from poverty, unemployment, and other forms of "deviancy" - the working-class - is also the section which is the least likely to offer serious resistance to investigation. It is also the group least likely to see the actual findings of the research. The structural relationship between the bourgeois academy and the working-class in this society provides anthropologists with a fieldwork situation much akin to that occurring when they go overseas.

The search for the exotic.

Traditionally, reporting back to her/his peers and superiors in the academy, the anthropologist's role is often seen as that of an envoy who has journeyed to a distant place to study the customs and beliefs of an "alien" people. When her journey takes her no futher than twenty or thirty miles from the university (or even to council-housing estates in the same city, as is the case in other research projects currently being carried out by an anthropologist at Edinburgh), then I think that this tradition itself needs careful scrutiny. It could be argued that the very fact that an anthropologist is studying a group tends to marginalise that group. Jackson, in an essay forming part of a recent collection, **Anthropology at Home**, tells us that "anthropologists are the folklorists of the exotic. . . The exotic might be only five miles away - it is, indeed, all around one" (1987: 8).

In his review of Scottish ethnography which I mentioned earlier, Condry claims that

most anthropological fieldworkers in Scotland seem to have found it difficult to provide detailed ethnographic descriptions. The belief that they should describe ways of life different from their own has, he says, led British anthropologists to focus instead on the boundary between, for example, the Gaelic locality and the outside world, and on what is **distinctive** about local practices. "Without this implicit difference, the notion of the translation of culture, central to much recent social anthropology, becomes problematic" (Condry 1983: 118). He does not spell out exactly what he takes "the translation of culture" to consist of, but goes on to refer to Just's point that, when the anthropologist tries to describe people she recognises as similar to herself, much of what she says "runs the risk of appearing trivial and obvious" (Just quoted in Condry ibid.). Realising that an attempt to use standard anthropological terms such as Dravidian kinship may "appear incongruous, even ludicrous" (ibid: 119) when describing "our" way of life, the anthropologist can be tempted to **create** differences in her account of "her people" (Just calls this "anthropologising"). This is, in effect, erecting a boundary where one may not exist. Condry believes that:

> Once social anthropologists move out of the apparently remoter regions of the North and West and start to investigate the Lowlands and the urban areas of Scotland then it will no longer be possible to hide behind the notion of boundaries. In this respect, it is important to consider why it is possible to talk of "Gaelic culture" but not of "Fife culture" or "Dumfries culture", and to understand that it will be much more difficult to talk of the collectivities that are implied by the notion of culture when urban and Lowland areas are being investigated. (Condry ibid: 121)

Turner, however, attempts to do just this in the article I mentioned earlier (1980a). According to him, the main danger for a British anthropologist doing fieldwork in this area, which is "so like our own. . . indeed it may be our own" (ibid: 1), is that she may overlook "relevant social facts" through the taking for granted of "those customs and institutions which are already partly familiar" (ibid). The apparent triviality of such social facts when they form part of an ethnographic account does not seem to worry him. This may be because, as a strategy to ensure that no relevant facts are missed, he actually recommends that the anthropologist erects "an heuristic cultural boundary" around the community being studied which will render her more sensitive to "variation in norms, values and so forth" (ibid.) She will see everything anew and at a remove from what is familiar to her.

In good anthropological fashion, Cauldmoss was chosen by Turner as our fieldwork site because of its geographically isolated position and its largely homogeneous cultural characteristics, features that made it similar to traditional fieldwork locations overseas. However, the nature of our research meant that we wanted to relate what we found there to the situation in other parts of Britain and Turner's model provided one means of doing

this. His approach is echoed by that of Löfgren who states:

> An understanding of the workings of a society at large . . . its power structures and webs of dependencies, does not necessarily call for a "macro-level"study. The metaphorical polarites of micro and macro may often obscure the fact that society is not organised on these two levels, and that analysis does not have to start "up there" working its way down. To take seemingly trivial everyday phenomena as starting points and look at their wider implications and connections . . . may produce surprising insights. (Löfgren 1987:91)

I also found Turner useful in that his concept of a heuristic boundary can be applied not just to the people under investigation but also to the group(s) to which one reports one's findings. Returning to Condry's notion of "the translation of culture" I would characterise fieldwork research as a situation in which one works to become a competent user of the "language" (the idioms, interests, knowledge and values) of ones' informants in order then to demonstrate one's competence in the "language" of one's academic audience. Löfgren states that:

> Much of our anthropological discourse is rooted in a middle-class vision of reality: a way of perceiving, classifying and organizing the world. Many of our analytical tools have been produced or redefined in this intellectual setting, in for example polarities like nature/culture, public/private, individual/collective. (Löfgren ibid.)

As Laura Nader points out when examining American anthropolgy:

> If we look at the literature based on fieldwork in the United States, we find a relatively abundant literature on the poor, the ethnic groups, the disadvantaged; there is comparatively little field research on the middle class and very little first hand work on the upper classes.(Nader 1974: 289)

How much of the academy's interest in working-class culture is due simply to the fact that the working-class forms a large section of this society, and how much is due to its "novelty value" for the middle-class? More ominously, it could be suggested that, as Bailey puts it when discussing the relationship between "the moderniser"and her "objects": "Knowledge is a substitute for - one might say a kind of - power" (Bailey 1966: 300). Knowledge which takes a preconceived form can serve, not to increase one's understanding and empathy for those studied, but to preserve one's sense of distance from, and even superiority to, them. In a telling passage in her recent essay on fieldwork in Brittany, Maryon McDonald tells us that "My ethnography was going to begin when I got to the "real" people [which in this context meant the peasants, and for which one equivalent in the United Kingdom has been the urban working-class]" (McDonald 1987: 136).

My point here is simply to suggest that, if care is not taken, then fieldwork in Britain may serve to reinforce the rigidity of the stratification that exists in our society. It is therefore

incumbant on the fieldworker to decide the extent to which s/he is providing information that may be used to strengthen existing prejudices. Beatrix Campbell, in her vivid account of her reconstruction of Orwell's journey round England in the 1930s, refers to the "iconography of unemployment" (Campbell 1984: photograph caption, centre pages) -the way in which the representation of a category of people can become symbolic in such a way as to confuse fact and fantasy.

Access to our findings.

Like Okely (1987: 71), and like McDonald - although her experience was much more dramatic than ours (op.cit: 134-136) - Wight and I found that our work in Cauldmoss, especially on the "black economy", was of interest to journalists. For example, following the publication of a book which included a chapter on Cauldmoss (Bostyn and Wight 1986), a national newspaper reporter decided to do a feature on our findings and put pressure on us (unsuccessfully) to reveal the village's real identity. An article I would recommend to journalists seeking to create sensation out of what is often a situation of day-to-day struggle for the unemployed is Jennie Popay's "'Fiddlers on the Hoof' - Moral Panics and Social Security Scroungers" (1979).

One means of returning the help villagers gave us would be to let them share in the results of our work there. Ideally, we would like to place copies of our ESRC reports, our theses, and our other writings, in the library in the village. The main obstacle to this, however, is that of maintaining the confidentiality we promised to all our informants. Although we have changed the name of the village and of individuals in it, and have tried to avoid giving details that would enable people from outside Cauldmoss easily to identify the community, many of those within the village itself would be able to work out who is being referred to at different points. During fieldwork we circulated a copy of one paper (edited to avoid giving detailed information about identifiable individuals) and this received a mixed response. One woman, for example - a strong Christian - simply refused to believe that some of the things we reported were actually occurring, especially the "fiddling", and even the swearing. Others told us that ours was a good representation of life in Cauldmoss. Some simply did not bother to read the paper, even though they had asked for a copy. One fear to which fieldworkers in Britain fall prey much more than do those working overseas is that their informants may disagree with, or even react with anger towards, what they write, since what they write is so much more available to their informants.

Conclusion.

In this wide-ranging chapter, I have attempted to describe both the theoretical and practical bases of my work in Cauldmoss. Having set my study of time in the context of our original investigation into unemployment in this community, I went on to discuss various types of literature which I have found useful. These included studies of time in general, as well as time as it is embodied in particular societies - both in our own, and in non-literate societies. The latter involved a consideration of culturally-specific forms of time, which appear to be the result of a universal need to structure one's environment and experiences in some way.

Next, I dealt with the concept of community as it occurs in developed countries, which allowed a further discussion of the ways in which different groups order reality, this time focussing on the use of symbols and boundaries. Having looked at particular studies of communities in Britain, I went on to summarise some literature on work in our society, focussing on that which considers the role of time.

The second part of this chapter was devoted to a detailed examination of the actual methods Wight and I used to gather information in Cauldmoss, and of our relationships with the inhabitants. I ended by considering some of the ideological issues underlying the anthropological approach in general, and our investigation of certain controversial aspects of life in Cauldmoss in particular.

In Part Two of this thesis, I shall examine time in Western society in general, first providing an historical overview of the development of our concept of time, and then focussing on the way in which we organise social time.

PART TWO:
TIME IN THE WEST.

CHAPTER THREE - THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF TIME.

CHAPTER THREE.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF TIME.

Introduction.

In this part of the thesis I shall focus on time in Western society. My aim in this chapter is to explore the origins of basic attitudes towards time in general, and towards particular ways of using time (primarily work), attitudes found today throughout our society and, as I shall show, in Cauldmoss. By adopting an historical approach here, my intention is to explain the force of current key beliefs, both about time itself, and about specific activities. I shall use evidence from various fields - science, art, literature and religion, and shall attempt to distinguish between learned and popular ideas where appropriate. At the end of this chapter I shall examine the characteristics of our modern approach to time in more detail, as a way of introducing my analysis of time in Cauldmoss in Part Three.

Changing representations and evaluations of time.

"The most costly outlay is the outlay of time." Antiphon, 4th century B.C.
"Time is the most valuable thing a man can spend." Theophrasties, 2nd century B.C.

It has often been suggested or implied that the tendency to view time as a commodity (defined by the **Oxford English Dictionary** as a "useful thing; article of trade") is a fairly recent development in the history of ideas about time in the West. The belief that time should be exchanged for something else, should be spent, sold, or used for a purpose, is often seen as an aspect of societies organised around a market economy, especially those dominated by capitalist consumerism. The quotations above, however, suggest that this type of approach to time has been current in the West for many hundreds of years. Such an approach seems to imply a linear view of time, although, as we shall see, this was only one aspect of time as it was understoood during the period in which these writers lived.

Most historians of ideas about time in the West, begin with the Ancient Greeks and from there move on to the Christian, the medieval, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and then the "modern" view of this phenomenon. In his book, **The Nature of Time** (1975), Whitrow deals with these stages, but his exposition is more wide-ranging in that it includes some attempt to contrast ideas in the mainstream tradition of the West with those of other traditions. Whitrow also describes the interplay between the material conditions

of an age and the model of the universe, the world-view, current at that time.

Pre-Christian views of time.

He begins by pointing out that our view of time in the West, as "a kind of linear progression measured by the clock or calendar" (ibid: 11), is relatively recent and is not universally applicable today. This is not to deny, however, that there were earlier cultures which attached as much importance to time as we do, or that earlier calendars were not equally accurate as our present Gregorian version. Whitrow tells us that the one used by the Mayas of Central America over a thousand years ago was actually more accurate. However, according to their view, history repeated itself in cycles of 260 years.

As Bertrand Russell (1977) pointed out, there is a distinction between the notion of a cyclic universe and truly cyclic time, and Whitrow explains that the concept of time held in past ages expressed the idea that the same patterns of processes and events keep repeating themselves. The idea that **time itself** is actually cyclic is nonsense, he suggests. The significance of rhythm or periodicy (recurrence at intervals) was enhanced with the development of agriculture, says Whitrow, and humankind came to see itself as having a part to play, through ritual, in ensuring that nature's pattern was not disturbed by "demoniacal chaotic powers"(op.cit: 14). More sophisticated versions of such rituals were celebrated by the Babylonians for two thousand years up until Hellenistic times, and by the Egyptians. The complex calendar used by the Egyptians was probably calculated according to the times of the Nile flood at Cairo, while the late Babylonians, the Chaldeans, based theirs on the stars. This formed the basis of the Hebrews' seven-day week.

Apart from isolated thinkers, such as Seneca, up until the advent of Christianity, only the Hewbrews and the Mithraists seem to have viewed history as prodominantly progressive, although this also involved cyclicity. Patrides summarises Hebraic thought as positing "a circular time as regards the succession of generations, [and] a horizontal time as regards the passage of years" (Patrides 1976: 2). Mithraism, which was in strong competition with Christianity in the latter's early period, distinguished between finite and infinite time. The "Time of the Long Domination", a period of twelve thousand years organised in accordance with the signs of the Zodiac, will end with the triumph of good over evil and will not be renewed, but will merge into infinite time.

Among the Ancient Greeks, the third strand influencing the Christian view of time, Patrides (op.cit.) tells us that for Heraclitus change and impermanence, ceaseless flux, was

fundamental reality. Parmamides, on the other hand, characterised it as constancy and permanence. Plato reconciled these two interpretations by distinguishing between the world of becoming, which is temporal and always changing, and eternity, which "rests in unity". Both Plato and Aristotle used external space, the revolution of the spheres, to explain time, and were less interested in the individual's perception of time. The Greeks believed that everything in the universe had a life-cycle, or *physis*; the cycle of the cosmos itself lasts thousands of years and contains the lesser concentric cycles of lower forms of existence. (The Greeks adopted the practice of denominating years by a single era count in the third century B.C.) The corollary of this belief in the continual recurrence of events was that analysis of history was meaningless.

The quotations at the beginning of this chapter indicate that, in terms of the cycle of human life, emphasis was laid on the possiblity of achieving various ends within a time seen as limited. In fact, the Ancients' attitude may be characterised as one of positive acceptance; Leishman descibes it as a "co-operation with time" (1961: 100). Such an attitude was useful in a society based on slavery where some ways of using time and some ends were considered to be more worthwhile than others. Levitan and Johnson (1982) point out that, at this time, labour - the expenditure of effort - was not seen as valuable except in so far as it freed others to strive for higher, spiritual or intellectual, goals.

The advent of Christianity.

Patrides states that early Christian thought was forced to reject the Platonic distiction between time and eternity because it "went contrary to the Christian claim that the Prime Mover is in love with the productions of time" (op.cit: 4). It had also to resist the notion of the cyclicity of time, since for Christians, as Augustine points out, the history of the universe is "single, irreversible, unrepeatable, rectilinear", developing in a "uni-dimensional movement in time" (ibid: 5), beginning with the six days of creation, moving through its fulcrum with the coming of Christ, and then on to the Day of Judgement. Augustine differed from earlier Christians however, in that he was able to accept the traditional difference between eternity and time by locating both within the mind. According to him, as part of God's creation, humankind lives in a world of flux, each individual moving through her/his own life-cycle, coming from God at birth and returning to Him at death. This contrast between limitless eternity and bounded time was to dominate ideas about time up until the Renaissance, and even beyond it to a lesser degree.

In terms of the use of time, the early Christians believed that the most meaningful activity was the contemplation of God, and physical work tended to be seen as a curse, the result of

original sin. Whereas the Ancients tended to see time as a means to human ends, for the individual Christian, time became something of an obstacle. Although death would hopefully bring her/him closer to God, the ultimate goal, during life s/he was constantly engaged in the battle against sin, in trying to "make good the time" before it was too late, through penitance and renewed good works.

The Medieval period.

During the Christian era the A.D. sequence was not instituted until the year 525, while the B.C. sequence was not introduced until the 17th cent- -y. Whitrow takes this as evidence of the slow establishment of a clearly linear view ot time. He argues in fact that, despite the influence of Christianity, in medieval Europe, time was still not seen in general as a continuous phenomenon, but in terms of different seasons and Zodiacal divisions. The Church itself instituted festivals to mark both periods within an individual's life-time and within the year itself. Many of these were designed to supplant pagan feasts, which tended to encourage a cyclical conception of time. He claims that during this period, in which "power was concentrated in the ownership of land, time was felt to be plentiful and was associated with the unchanging cycle of the soil" (ibid: 19). I would suggest, however, that this is a misleading representation of the experience of the mass of the rural population at that time. We can assume, for example, that the conditions of life for them were roughly equivalent to those F.G. Bailey describes for third world peasants today. He points out that we tend to adopt a romantic view of rural life, believing that those working the land recognise "a cycle of eternity", based on the way that "year after year life renews itself in the same way" (Bailey 1966: 313). However, he says,

> I do not know whether the peasants with whom I lived have [a] mystical sense of life's continuance: I doubt it, since, unlike us, they know rural life in the raw, unexpagated, unabridged and uncleaned for dramatic presentation. Certainly. . . they see little security in their own life. No one can be sure whether the harvest will be good or bad: no one can be sure who will be alive this time next year, or even next week. . . Nature may have a grand continuing design, but a man's life is filled with discontinuities. (Bailey, ibid.)

In terms of the privileged members of Medieval society, Whitrow suggests that scholars and scientists, with their interest in astronomy and astrology, were inclined to promote a cyclical view of time. On the other hand, the evolving mercantile class and the development of a money economy favoured a linear representation:

> . . . with the circulation of money, the emphasis was on mobility. The tempo of life was increased, and time was now regarded as something valuable that was felt to be slipping away continually. (Bailey, ibid.)

We see here the emergence of the attitude that "time is money", which has come to have immense force in the modern world.

As far as attitudes towards particular activities were concerned, different types of work were seen as appropriate for different groups within Medieval society. While social elites busied themselves with supervising their servants, with administering military affairs, or with good works, they tended to regard manual work as necessary but contemptable. It appears that the labouring masses saw the nobles as enjoying a life of leisure, while they themselves had little choice but to work. However, Keith Thomas (1964) suggests that, right up until industrialisation, ordinary people made no **rigid** distinction between work and non-work activities in their everyday lives, both being seen as equally legitimate ways of spending time.

He points out that, in fact, if we look beyond the elitist point of view, work was not regarded as an unmitigated evil throughout society at this time. From Augustine onwards, he declares, many recognised that God's paradise included some form of work. As long as the labour necessary to ensure material well-being was carried out at the time and rate appropriate to this end, then it was not considered necessary to gauge the amount of time spent on a particular task. E. P. Thompson describes this as a "task oriented" notation of time, whereby activities are carried out in accordance with natural events, the tasks themselves becoming a way of measuring time (Thompson 1967:60). Marc Bloch describes the "vast indifference to time" found in feudal societies, which were relatively unconcerned, he claims, with accuracy and figures (Bloch 1961: 74). (According to him, King Alfred was exceptional in his concern with uniformity in the division of the day, which he tried to ensure by always carrying candles of equal length and having them lit in turn to mark the passage of hours.) Different jobs could be carried out co-terminously and could be freely interrupted by non-work activities.

In Medieval Europe, the different forms of productive activity were bound up with social obligations and interests.

> The close relationship between the agricultural cycle and the liturgical year, with its blessings and processions, shows that the association between technique and ritual was still very close, just as do the ceremonies of the craft guilds with their oaths and initiations. (Thomas, op.cit: 52).

Thomas points out that the relationship between master and servant was not simply an economic one, but involved wide-ranging responsibilities. In the same way, individuals were expected to take part in collective tasks, notably the harvest. Many recreational pastimes were closely related to economic needs (for example hunting), or to warfare (archery and wrestling). Others, such as inter-village games and Saturnalia, provided a

means of expressing rivalry or of temporarily stepping outside the bounds of normal constraints.

Like Thomas, Thompson argues that such an approach entails a low degree of demarcation between "work" and "life", with no great sense of conflict between labouring and "passing the time of day" (Thompson op.cit: 60). Thomas argues, however, that we cannot assume labour was always enjoyable at this time, and he even suggests that the unpopularity of labour services were a reason for the commutation of work tasks, their organisation in terms of direct reward. Manorial overseers felt it necessary to carry sticks, and contemporary accounts, such as **Aelfric's Colloquy**, suggest that ploughmen, for instance, believed that their lot was a hard one. Thomas points out that even members of craft guilds, which were founded on a sense of professional pride and solidarity, went on strike (for example in France in the thirteenth century). Thompson tells us that even within the productive unit of the Medieval family there was some division of labour, and individual members had to be disciplined to perform their particular role. On the other hand, free peasants working their own plot appear to have been more content, and the evidence that is available on the low rate of suicide, and the lack of attempts to render work less arduous through new technologies, suggest that, in general, individuals found satisfaction in work at this period. Thomas quotes Hexter's statement that, even by the early sixteenth century, "the idea of labour-saving had not taken deep roots" (Hexter quoted in Thomas op.cit: 56), which was due to the fact that labour time had not yet become a variable of great importance.

Renaissance views of time.

The rapid social changes occurring during the Renaissance reinforced the demand for expeditious production, and a heightened sensitivity to the "flight" of time and to its finitude was linked to a decline in the extent to which God's providence (and the promise of reward in eternity) was felt to be adequate reassurance. Several writers on time compare the way it was viewed in classical times with its representation during this age of the revival of classical models. Panofsky, the art historian, for example, points out that, whereas in classical art, time was symbolised in terms of "fleeting opportunity (*Kairos*) or as creative eternity (*Aion*)", the artists of the Renaissance typically chose to portray instead Time the Destroyer (Panofsky 1939: 50).

Levitan and Johnson (op. cit.) claim that a fundamental change in the meaning of particular activities occurred during this period, due in particular to the emergence of democratic ideas which questioned the right of the privileged few to continual leisure. It was also a result of the increasing importance of craft and science. Although we can see in the

attitudes of social elites at this time an echo of the privileged Greeks' attitude to the work of their slaves, there was growing appreciation of the skill and energy of those who laboured, and an increased willingness to identify aspects of their own behaviour as work. This shift in ideas among the leisured classes can perhaps be said to have laid the foundation both for the acceptability of the Protestant notion of methodical work as a calling for rich and poor alike, and, conversely, for the survival of a high evaluation of leisure, despite the Protestant rejection of leisure, in favour of prayer.

The Renaissance belief that time should be used to create things of lasting importance was especially evident in the work of Shakespeare. Like other scholars of the period, he found inspiration in ancient writings, even though he did not share the attitude to time conveyed in them. The difference between the Ancients' acceptance of change and the sense of urgency characterising the Renaissance can be understood most clearly by comparing one of Ovid's discourses with one of the most well-known of Shakespeare's sonnets:

> As wave is impelled by wave and the same wave is both urged in its coming and urges that before it, so times at once flee and follow and are always new; for what has been done before is left behind and there comes to be what has not been, and all moments are being renewed. (Ovid Metamorphoses XV: 181-2)

> Like as the waves make towards the pebbled shore,
> So do our minutes hasten to their end;
> Each changing place with that which goes before,
> In sequent toil all forwards do contend.
> Nativity, once in the main of light,
> Crawls to maturity, wherewith being crown'd,
> Crooked eclipses 'gainst his glory fight,
> And Time that gave doth now his gift confound.
> Time doth transfix the flourish set on youth
> And delves the parallels in beauty's brow,
> Feeds on the rarities of nature's truth,
> And nothing stands but for his scythe to mow:
> And yet to times in hope my verse shall stand,
> Praising thy worth, despite his cruel hand.
> (Shakespeare: Sonnet 60)

As Leishman (op. cit.) points out, Shakespeare is almost manic in his hatred of the "bloody tyrant time" (Sonnet 16). His contemporary, Herrick, is perhaps more representative of attitudes towards time current in the early 17th century. In his famous "flower poems" Herrick uses the more sanguine themes of *carpe diem* and *carpe florem* ("seize today" and "seize the flowers") found in Horace and Ovid respectively. Herrick's ability to do this is undoubtably due to the reassurance the thought of "a place . . . with the race of saints" afforded him ("Comfort to a Youth that had lost his love").

Although it was to remain a powerful force, Christianity (and the compensation it offered)

was dealt a blow at this time by developments in ideas about the origins of the universe. In the early seventeenth century, Kepler asserted that the universe works like a clock, advocating a mechanistic model of nature which was reinforced by Descartes' dichotomy of matter and spirit. The adoption of the mechanical clock had, in fact, a profound effect on natural philosophy, as well as on the everyday experience of time. Whitrow points out that it marked the change from discontinuous methods of time-reckoning ("involving the repetition of a concrete phenomenon", like dawns or tides [Whitrow op.cit:22]), and from the use of relatively unreliable methods (such as sundials, sand-reckoners and water-clocks) to a means of truly continuous time-reckoning depending on an uninterrupted series of temporal units. Mechanical clocks were actually invented at the end of the thirteenth century, and church and public clocks were erected in large towns from the fourteenth century onwards, although sundails continued to be widely used. A successful pendulum clock was not devised until 1658, and it was not until then that clocks really began to shape "the modern concept of the homogeneity and continuity of time" (Whitrow ibid.)

The diffusion of time-pieces.

Before looking at Thompson's analysis of the impact of industrial capitalism in the 17th century, I shall briefly outline his description of the diffusion of time-pieces from this time onwards.

During the seventeenth century, early morning and curfew bells were rung in many districts (a service often financed by charitable donations). In growing manufacturing areas such as the West Riding and the Potteries, horns or bells were used to wake people, and this developed into the knocker-up system with the establishment of mills. The development of the pendulum meant that household clocks became much more accurate, so that minute hands could be used, as well as hour hands. Improvements in pocket watch mechanisms after 1674 led to the emergence of British clock- and watch-making as the best in Europe (see Cipolla [1967]). But, Thompson argues, "Recorded time (one suspects) belonged. . . still to the gentry, the masters, the farmers and the tradesmen" (Thompson op.cit: 67). By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the government's calculations of the revenue that could be raised by taxing clocks and watches suggests that, by then, many people possessed watches cased in precious metal, which served primarily as status symbols. Moreover, there were also thousands of more functional wooden clocks in cottages throughout the country.

Just because industrialisation required synchronisation of labour, and because a time-piece

conferred prestige on its owner, Thompson suggests that artisans probably strove hard to procure one, whether it was a cheap imported watch or one that had been stolen or acquired second-hand. It was an investment that could be pawned or sold in hard times, and in some places Clock and Watch Clubs were established to facilitate their purchase. It would appear that, throughout the nineteenth century, those workers who could demand a good wage often demonstrated their prosperity by buying a time-piece, so that by 1849 a reporter declared: "No Manchester operative will be without one a moment longer than he can help" (Morning Chronicle 25/10/1849, quoted in Thompson ibid.: 70). By the end of the nineteenth century, employers were giving their employees engraved gold watches in return for "fifty years of disciplined servitude to work" (ibid.).

That accurate time measurement has today become a matter of great concern in this society as a whole, is attested by the number of clocks and watches we possess, and by the "time-checks" supplied by the media through the day. British Telecom now receives 6.5 million calls to their "speaking clock" service every year (or 17,802 inquiries each day).

The rise of industrial capitalism.

To return to my historical overview, in pre-industrial times, the ruling classes had exploited those who laboured for them, although this was usually within "traditional" limits. The move away from more traditional forms of work organisation involved a growing emphasis on the exchange-value rather than the use-value of what was produced. This meant that time, as a limiting factor like other raw materials, came to be quantified and regulated so that it could be exchanged for reward. An employer's profits (Marx's "surplus value") derived from the difference between what he paid, for materials and for his employees' time, and the price fetched by the goods produced. As Thompson puts it, with the rise of industrial capitalism, attention came to be fixed "not [on] the task but the value of time when reduced to money" (ibid: 61).

The transition from the pre-industrial to the industrial age was marked by the increasing rationalisation of work (aided by the availablity of accurate time measuring instruments) - its separation from other activities, and its elevation into a systematic method for the attainment of particular ends. But this transition was not a smooth one, and Thompson's essay details the development of employers' efforts to regulate work, as well as workers' attempts to resist this form of control.

He argues that it is important to distinguish between the different forms of work situation which existed at this time. (I am assuming here that the circumstances he describes for

England also occurred - albeit later - in Scotland.) For example, seventeenth century farm-servants, or those who earned regular wages as field labourers and who lacked common rights or land, were subject to strict labour discipline, he claims, quoting a contemporary description of a live-in ploughman's tight daily schedule. But he points out that ploughing, by its very nature, involved irregular hours, that other contemporary accounts discuss the tendancy of labourers to cease work once the farmer was out of sight, and that in any case, each year the labourer could choose to move to another farm if he felt that his present employer's discipline was too oppressive. Small farmers and cottagers had more control over their time, allocating it as they chose to various work tasks, and spending days at seasonal fairs and markets.

Enclosures and agricultural improvements were "concerned with the efficient husbanding of the time of the labour force" (Thompson ibid: 78). By the end of the eighteenth century, those who found that their services were no longer in such demand because of the increasing surplus of labour were forced to conform to more rigidly controlled labour conditions, while farmers experimented with different forms of employment and discipline. By the nineteenth century, weekly-wage labour predominated over "taken-work" (where men were employed for particular tasks at piece-rates).

What of manufacturing? In the sixteenth century, many of those who worked the land also worked at home, manufacturing items under the putting-out system. Multiple occupations were common; examples include small-farmer/weavers and miner/fishermen. Within the broad limits of a week or a fortnight individuals could vary the number of hours they worked each day for an employer. But with the spread of large-scale machine-powered industry, and the increased synchronisation of labour that this required, came a curtailment of such freedom of choice. However, as Pitt points out, "It was not easy to sell the idea of discipline in the factory to workers used to the flexitime which included a much-complained of veneration for Saint Monday" (Pitt 1983: 6). Thompson includes many examples of this practice, especially among tradesmen, and it continued (in England at least) into the nineteenth, and even into the twentieth century, in some manufacturing and heavy industry - notably in the steel-mills. Christopher Hill (1964) has argued that in the seventeenth century the Sabbath, rather than saint's days, came to be generally recognised as the principle regular "holiday" from work, but this did not prevent workers from continuing to celebrate customary feasts and wakes.

In terms of the role of religion, Thompson declares:

> I cannot claim that there was anything radically new in the teaching of industry or in the moral critique of idleness. But there is perhaps a new insistence, a firmer accent, as the moralists who had accepted this new discipline for themselves enjoined it upon the working people. (Thompson ibid: 87).

He quotes Baxter's **Christian Directory** of 1673 as evidence of the Puritan ethic which he suggests inspired this "new insistence" on the value of labour and of husbanding time. In England these themes were elaborated by John Wesley and the Methodists, and by the Evangelical sects, a hundred years later as industrial capitalism took off.

Rather than trying to clarify the relative importance of changes in the technology of manufacturing, as opposed to that of new religiously-inspired perceptions of work, Thompson points out that here we are trying to understand not simply the transition to industrialism (a term which refers primarily to the form of production used), but to industrial capitalism (which connotes the attitudes and aims of those implementing the new productive processes). This transition, he believes, "falls upon the whole culture [which] includes the systems of power, property-relations, religious institutions, etc." (Thompson op.cit: 80).

For Thompson, the **Law Book of the Crowley Iron Works**, drawn up in the early 1800s, is a perfect embodiment of the attitude that prevailed among employers during this period. Its 100,000 word code contained criticisms and orders such as the following:

> Some have pretended a sort of right to loyter, thinking by their readiness and ability to do sufficient in less time than others. Others have been so foolish to think bare attendance without being employed in business is sufficient. . . To the end that sloath and villany should be detected and the just and diligent rewarded, I have thought meet to create an account of time by a Monitor, and do order and it is hereby ordered from five to eight and from seven to ten is fifteen hours, out of which take one-and-a-half for breakfast, dinner, etc. There will then be thirteen hours and a half neat service. (Order 103 quoted in Thompson ibid: 81).

To ensure that this was the case Crowley instituted a system of time-sheets, time-keepers and fines, and encouraged informers to report any abuses of the system. The same accounting methods were applied to the time of those working in the early cotton mills towards the end of the eighteenth century, and by Wedgewood at his pottery at Etruria, where the first recorded system of clocking-in was introduced. But it was not confined to factories and workshops, as Thompson's reference to the Reverend J. Clayton's **Friendly Advice to the Poor** indicates. This was written for the "Officers of the Town of Manchester" in 1755, when domestic manufacture was still widespread. Here, Clayton advocated early rising, which he believed would "introduce an exact Regularity" into the families of the poor, and "a wonderful Order into their Oeconomy" (Clayton quoted in Thompson ibid: 83).

The importance of early socialisation in terms of working habits was recognised by William Temple, for example, who in 1770 suggested that poor children should be sent to work-houses at the age of four, where they should have two hours of schooling each day

and ten hours of employment in manufactures or other activities. "By these means", he declared, "we hope that the rising generation will be. . . habituated to constant employment" (Temple quoted in Thompson ibid: 84).

Schools, too, promoted "time-thrift", and Thompson tells us that "exhortations to punctuality and regularity were written into the rules of all the early schools"(ibid: 84). **The Rules for the Government, Superintendence, and Teaching of the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School, York**, set down in 1833, contained the following directions:

> The Superintendent shall again ring, - and when, on a motion of his hand, the whole School rise at once from their seats; - on a second motion, the Scholars turn; - on a third, slowly and silently move to the place appointed to repeat their lessons, - he then pronounces the word "Begin"... (quoted in Thompson ibid.: 85).

Before looking at the stress laid on discipline by the Methodist Church, Thompson points out that we should not assume that such techniques of control produced the unquestioning and obedient wage-slaves that the above excerpt portrays.

As industrialisation progressed, and workers came to accept that time is money, they rebelled against what seemed to them to be the unfair demands of their employers, and called for reduced working hours and better pay. What had once been resistance to methods of restricting their freedom became attempts to ensure that their employers did not abuse the latter's' own system of giving appropriate financial reward for fixed hours of work. One of Thompson's rare examples from Scotland is particularly relevant here; in 1887, an anonymous author published **Chapters in the Life of a Dundee Factory Boy**, in which an employee made the following claim:

> . . . in reality there were no regular hours: masters and managers did with us as they liked. The clocks at the factory were often put forward in the morning and back at night, and instead of being instruments for the measurement of time, they were used as cloaks for cheatery and oppression. Though this was known amongst the hands, all were afraid to speak, and a workman then was afraid to carry a watch, as it was no uncommon event to dismiss anyone who presumed to know too much about the science of horology. (Quoted in Thompson ibid: 86)

The Weber thesis.

Thompson refers to Weber's analysis of the role of religion in economic affairs only in passing. However, I feel that it warrants some attention here (especially as it relates to the situation in Scotland) since I believe that it helps to throw light on attitudes towards time and work found in Cauldmoss today. Marshall (1980) points out that commentators do not even agree which of Weber's essays actually comprise the "Protestant ethic thesis".

He argues that it is important to consider Weber's later writing (as well as those which appear as **The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism**), since these make it clear that in his original treatment Weber was addressing two distinct questions. His initial aim was to identify the origins of the modern capitalists ethos or mentality, which, he proposed, may be found in the neo-Calvinist ethic of the seventeenth century. Criticism of this argument prompted Weber to then go on to try and explain the role of this capitalist spirit, in conjunction with other factors (particularly material developments in the economic base of a society), in the development of the modern capitalist economic system.

In terms of the relationship between seventeenth century Calivinistic beliefs and the attitude towards profit which he describes as "the spirit of modern capitalism", Weber states that the latter was an unintentional consequence of certain neo-Calvinistic beliefs. Weber suggested that the Calvinist ethical code was innovative and especially influential in that it included an injunction, a "psychological sanction", to demonstrate or prove one's faith through secular activities. The expression "psychological sanction" is particularly significant in so far as it conveys a sense of the compulsion individuals felt (and, I will argue, still feel) in regard to their use of time, which should, on the whole, be carefully and purposively employed.

The Protestant ethic and industrial capitalism in Scotland.

Weber has been criticised for his failure to supply empirical evidence to substantiate his suggestion that the orientation of seventeenth century businessmen towards economic activity was induced by the belief system of ascetic Protestantism. Instead he relies on evidence from Protestant teaching and on the writings of Benjamin Franklin. Marwick (1931), for example, argued that the case of Scotland provides just such evidence against the thesis, since modern capitalism did not evolve in this country until two centuries after neo-Calvinism. Similarly, Hyma states that,

> Scotland in the seventeenth century became much more thoroughly Calvinistic than either England or Holland. But. . . the rapid spread of Calvinist ideas and theology did not by any means correspond to development in commerce and industry. (Hyma 1937: 139)

In reply to Marwick's and Hyma's criticisms, one can point to Weber's recognition that "the capitalist form of an enterprise and the spirit in which it is run generally stand in some sort of adequate relationship to each other, but not in one of necessary interdependence" (Weber op.cit: 64). Besides an ethos which saw the rational accounting of capital as an end in itself, the evolution of a capitalist economy required the development of a formally free labour force, the separation of business and household capital, rational structures of law

and administration, and the advancement of industrial processes and technologies. What Marshall does is to distinguish an investigation of the business ethos existing in seventeenth century Scotland from one which considers the economic and productive forms that were predominant at that time.

When the Scottish and English Parliaments were united in 1707, this country was three hundred years behind England in terms of economic development. Its terrain and climate were obstacles to the development of more modern methods; it lacked both a skilled labour force and domestic capital for investment; it had been wrecked by a series of wars and religious upheavals; its small internal market and its fiscal and trade policies limited economic expansion; its system of land tenure inhibited agricultural improvements. It was these factors, rather than a lack of an appropriate worldview on the part of capitalists, which Marshall believes accounted for the lack of development of Scottish capitalism during this period.

He goes on to describe the efforts made by many Scottish businessmen to establish various ventures at this time, showing that, on the basis of rational calculations about costs and sales, enterpreneurs often decided that returns could be maximised by investing in less developed forms of enterprise, rather than in modern capitalist forms. Nevertheless, between 1660 and 1707, protective fiscal legislation in Scotland did enable a small number of businesses to be established on modern capitalist lines. Furthermore, the works of the late seventeenth century Scottish political economists reveal a consensus on the importance of anti-traditionalistic business practices, with idleness, ostentatious living and time-wasting being condemned as vices. Instead, such writers strongly advocated industry and frugality, diligence in one's vocation, long-term economic planning, and the improvement of one's estate.

How far such attitudes were held by the ordinary working population of Scotland is harder to determine, as Marshall admits. He refers us to Thompson's and Thomas' essays, and to Laslett's classic study (1965), and suggests that the Calvinist type of approach to work came to be widespread, explaining away those cases where employees forcefully rebelled against work discipline by pointing out that they tended to be led by non-Calvinist workers. Lacking detailed evidence on the attitudes of ordinary workers, Marshall instead devotes several chapters to an examination of the development of Calvinism in Scotland, pointing out that it was originally adopted for political, and not for economic reasons, and that it became very firmly entrenched, avoiding doctrinal splits (if not rifts over church government). He argues that the Church's formal doctrine and pastoral theology changed everyday conduct due to its insistence on universal attendance, on discipline and on self-policing, and its dominance of education. Typical of Scottish

preachers of the time, Rollock advocated "hard work" and "labour" as an ideal - both for labourers and enterpreneurs - while Cowper described time as "a most precious thing" (quoted in Marshall op.cit: 79).

How seriously did ordinary people take such advice? One way of determining the importance of the church is to look at the level of attendance. Smout (1969) claims that, for example, in the sixteenth century, the average Lowland Scot was a regular church-goer (although he admits elsewhere, in an essay on popular religion in eighteenth century Scotland, that "we simply do not know. . . what proportion of Scots normally went to Kirk on Sundays", or how devote they were [Smout 1982: 120]). Another type of evidence is provided in Rab Houston's (1982) essay on illiteracy in Scotland between 1630 and 1760. Here, he reports that the vast majority of people in the Lowlands at that time could read, and that there was much enthusiasm for the bible (a copy of which almost every family possessed) and for other religious books. He stresses the role of the Kirk-run parish schools, where the aim seems to have been to teach children to read the bible and psalm book, and to repeat the catechism. Adam Smith, writing in 1775, laid emphasis on the importance of these parish schools in educating the masses in Scotland.

In his essay on popular religion which I mentioned above, Smout considers the religious revival which took place in Camburslang in the 1740s, and he suggests that there already existed a great interest in religion among the population of the Lowland at that time. Individuals were prepared to walk miles each week to hear different preachers. Henry Pelling (1964), writing about church attendance among the working-class throughout Britain in the nineteenth century points out that attendance was much more widespread in Scotland than it was in England during that period, and that religious life on the whole seems to have been much more vigorous here. But in leaving the seventeenth century and considering such evidence as it pertains to later periods, I am moving away from the Weber controversy. According to Weber, it was only during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that ascetic Protestantism motivated a modern capitalist approach to everyday life. By the eighteenth century, the spirit of capitalism had left its religious origins behind and had become self-validating.

Having considered the role of religion in shaping attitudes to time and work between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, I shall now return to my summary of changes occurring in scientific and philosophical approaches to time, changes which themselves influenced religious ideas to an extent.

The Enlightenment.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Descartes' speculations on the natural processes by which the universe had evolved laid the foundations for a succession of cosmological theories during the 18th century Enlightenment. Although these theories entailed a rejection of the biblical version of **creation**, they reinforced the traditional Christian linear view of **time** itself. This did not mean, however, that cyclical conceptions of time disappeared altogether. Even Newton, who considered the orbital movements of the planets and who believed that there is one universal and absolute system of time (existing in its own right and without relation to anything else), also held that nature perpetuates itself through the constant recirculation of its constituents. Fifty years later, a "law of cycles" featured in Vico's famous theory of history.

Seventy-five years after Newton, Kant adapted his predecessor's ideas to arrive at a cosmogeny whereby the cloud of gas, which was the solar system in its original form, began to rotate, expelling matter from its centre, and this matter, acted on by gravitational forces, formed the planets. Accordingly, through time, the universe continues to evolve, to grow more complex. At the same time as this view of the effects of time's passage became more widespread, so knowledge of past ages was expanded as different eighteenth century writers, including geologists such as Hutton, pushed the date of the earth's origin further back in time. Progress and potentiality were the keywords of the Enlightenment, and the work of the later biological evolutionists ensured the predominance of the linear view of time.

On the other hand, inspired by their devotion to nature and its cycles, a number of the eighteenth century Romantic poets (Shelley, in particular) demonstrated a belief in the constant renewal of time. Their work, too, has played a part in shaping present-day attitudes to time.

Concern with the physiological and psychological bases of our awareness of time goes back thousands of years; even Plato speculated on the nature of memory. Such concern became particularly acute in the seventeenth century, when, for example, Locke - convinced of the linear movement of time - asserted that our experience of one idea after another (and of the interval between ideas) is the foundation of our notion of time, of duration and succession. In the eighteenth century, Kant concluded that time is one of the forms of our innate intuition, an aspect of the subjective mind rather than of the objective world. Recognition of the subjectivity of the perception of time was reflected in the style of the great novelists of that century, notably Sterne, whose work can be said to have been the first in the "stream of consciousness" tradition (to use William James' term), which has been so important in

modern literature.

Time in the nineteenth century.

As Meyerhoff says, in the nineteenth century,

> all the sciences of man - biology, anthropology, psychology, even economics and politics - became "historical" sciences in the sense that they recognized and employed a historical, genetic, or evolutionary method.(Meyerhoff 1955: 97)

The search for the origins of our perception of time led Herbert Spencer (whose work was to be so influential in anthropology) to suggest that "primitive man", noticing the link between chicken and egg, for example, came to understand succession and simultaneity. Soon after, in 1890, the psychologist Guyau rejected Spencer's simplistic explanation and argued that the basis of the idea of time is actually the awareness of the pattern of different internal sensations resulting from bodily movement. He went further, declaring that human beings **construct** the idea of time from such awareness, that they learn through practice to perceive time in a certain way. This allows that different societies may well inculcate different ways of perceiving time.

In terms of the distinction between linear and cyclical time, there were those among the Victorians who, fearing that the stress being laid on innovation and speed during this period would lead to decadence, advocated an awareness of the nature of their age as compared to other ages, and/or emphasised the need for spiritual rebirth. Yeats even chose to make use of the Graeco-Roman model of time's ever-recurring cycles in his poetry.

Meanwhile, employers and moralists continued to use religion to validate their beliefs about the use of time, so that, as Pitt puts it: "obedience to the demands of work passed into the Victorian mind and prevailed as a moral imperative" (Pitt op.cit: 6). Perhaps the most famous proponent of the necessity of work and self-discipline during this period was Samual Smiles, whose **Self-Help**, first published in 1859, sold 150,000 copies within thirty years and was translated into eight languages. It is significant that this popular book was not a religious tract; it simply advocated individual self-improvement and contained many examples of great deeds achieved in science, art, business and so on. These, says Smiles, were all achieved through "application and perseverence", through "courageous working" and through "the right use of money". A particularly startling example is that of Elihu Burritt who Smiles tells us, attributed his success in self-improvement to the "careful employment of those invaluable fragments of time called 'odd moments'. While working and earning his living as a blacksmith, he mastered some

eighteen ancient and modern languages, and twenty-two European dialects" (Smiles 1910: 154).

Twentieth century approaches to time.

The early part of the twentieth century saw attempts in various areas to reformulate ideas about time. The French philosopher Henri Bergson (1910), for example, rejected the physicists' conversion of time into separate, measurable quantities because, he claimed, this distorts the "essential nature" of time, which we in this society experience as fluctuating durational flow.

While the Newtonian, absolutist view of time (whereby "real time" exists "out there", and flows continuously and uniformly), stills tends to dominate the popular conception of time, in the 1920s physicists began to adopt a relativistic model, based on Einstein's work. His ideas can in fact be regarded as a development of the "relational theory" proposed by Leibnitz, a contempory of Newton's. Leibnitz argued that time is not a thing in itself, as Newton believed, but is simply the order in which events happen, so that two events are simultaneous because each occurs when the other does, and not because they take place at the same moment of absolute time. Two hundred years later, Einstein's formulations did not assume that motion produced real structural changes within matter or actually slowed down time, but were concerned with measurement, with change as it appeared to the observer.

One of the main applications of Einstein's theory has been in particle physics; as Capra says: "The most important consequence of the new relativistic framework has been the realization that mass is nothing but a form of energy" (Capra 1983: 90). He also points out that, "we have no direct experience of the four-dimensional space-time, and whenever this relativistic reality manifests itself. . . we find it very hard to deal with it at the level of intuition and ordinary language " (ibid: 89).

Bearing this in mind, to what extent can such developments be said to have influenced popular ideas? As yet, the answer seems to be very little. Patrides (op.cit.) notes Einstein's influence on cubist and kinetic art, and also on film-makers. One fairly recent and widely seen feature film interweaves images representing timelessness with images meant to convey travelling through space at speeds which make the environment look as if it is disintegrating; this is Kubrick's **2001: A Space Odyssey.** I think it is true to say that it is in this genre, science fiction, that relativity theory finds its way into mass consciousness, and even then (taking Cauldmoss as my case study), this art-form appeals only to a limited

audience.

Since the 1960s, some intellectuals, influenced by Einstein's analysis of matter as an energy system, have suggested that a new age is dawning (Capra calls it the "solar age") which may be characterised as one of "deep ecology". Capra points out, however, that this type of worldview has long antecedents - in Toaism, in the teachings of Heraclitus, in the philosophy of Spinoza and of Heidegger, in the poetry of Whitman. As yet, such rejections of the Cartesian-Newtonian worldview are advocated by a relatively small number of people within our society (I knew of only two people in Cauldmoss, for example, who revealed any knowledge or interest in such alternative models - one being our occultist neighbour - and, as one would expect, they were regarded by the majority as deviants). Capra's scheme is particularly interesting, I think, because it suggests (as does Kubrick's film) that an awareness of the patterns of consciousness and the recurring, regenerative nature of phenomena can somehow enable humankind to gain access to the infinite. But it is important to remember that this type of outlook tends to result from a recognition of the uncertain future of the planet, which many see as moving steadily towards its end. Whitrow describes how astronomers' findings on the evolution of the universe (in particular, the discovery that the universe is expanding and that the earth cannot continue to exist indefinitely) have reinforced the view of time as an arrow, moving irreversibly onwards. Many, including several people in Cauldmoss, fear that the earth itself, or all its inhabitants, will be destroyed long before that time is reached, through nuclear or chemical warfare.

In terms of research into the perception of time, recent work looks at the psychological and physiological mechanisms involved, for example, in human attention and memory. After a brief survey of some of these developments, Whitrow, rather like Locke, concludes that because, for us "the process of thinking has the form of a linear sequence" (op.cit.: 39) we tend to view time as a linear progression. He recognises, however, that since the perception of time "depends on processes of mental organization uniting thought and action . . . very different ideas of time [are] entertained by people of other cultures" (ibid.).

Ornstein points out that in fact "Most psychologists, in considering time, have taken for granted that a 'real' time, external to our construction of it, does exist, and that it is linear" (Ornstein op.cit: 95) Moreover, the subjects of such experiments tend to belong to the psychologist's own culture, rather than to other "alien" societies. Ornstein himself makes use of Bogen's (1969) and Gazzaniga's (1967) findings on the modes of operation of the two cerebral hemispheres in order to try and account for the way that some cultures emphasise a linear, sequential mode of time (which utilises the left side of the brain's cortex rather than the right), while in others, a "present-centered mode" predominates. He continually

stresses that what is for us "the normal mode of experiencing time is only one particular personal construction of reality" (ibid: 93).

Evidence on the relationship between physiological functioning, collective representations and the individual's experience of time tends to be inconclusive. Attempts that have been made to locate an internal biological clock (based on heart-rate or basal metabolism) have been unconvincing, for example. Ornstein's refererence to "personal" constructions of reality implies that each individual within any particular society can, in theory, experience time in a unique way. Within our culture, people have long recognised that, despite the regularity that calendar and clock-time impose on their activities, one's actual experience of time can vary considerably. On the other hand, Ornstein's phrase "the normal mode of experiencing time" refers to the way in which a society as a whole conceives of a phenomenon according to cultural norms. Even "mystical" experiences, which claim to transcend our usual view of things, and often include a feeling of "timelessness", tend to be described according to a culturally determined specific vocabulary (see Smart 1973: 23). Similarly, part of our culture's representation of being in love involves a particular sense of time, an old idea which was vividly expressed in the work of the Metaphysical poets, for example.

We tend to believe that individuals can occasionally escape the limitations of time either through such heightened experiences, or, as I suggested earlier, through the execution of works which will be remembered after their creator's death. Both cases are sometimes characterised in terms of contact with "the ultimate" or with eternity, or at least in terms of "ageless beauty" or "timeless truth"; "a thing of beauty is a joy forever", as Keats put it.

Despite an awareness that the individual can alter her/his experience of time, the ways in which time has been represented in the art and literature of the West could be said to demonstrate recognition of the fact that the defining feature of life and humanity is its subjugation to time. This, I think, explains why time has been given a variety of anomalous forms, forms which (if we accept Douglas' [1966] theory of the power involved in boundary-transgression) often seem very striking. It has been portrayed, for example, as a figure which at first appears human, but turns out to be a skeleton inside a cloak; here time is equated with death. A less extreme image is of time as an old man, but one who has attained an age beyond that ever reached by human beings. A fairly recent depiction of time, in the form of a figure who, while human, stands outside normal society, is found in Ralph Hodgson's poem: "Time, you old gipsy man".

Such portrayals reflect the fear and sense of powerlessness individuals generally feel in

the face of time. This seems particularly acute today in our current "ageist" society, which has been described as being dominated by the "cult of youth". Today, the only way to stave off this fear seems to be to be continually **doing**, and this has serious implications for those who are unable to take part in what are regarded as legitimate forms of activity, such as the unemployed.

Time and work today.

I think it is fair to say that while the linear view of time predominates in our culture, there is also general appreciation of the cyclic quality of events. How far this is true in Cauldmoss is an issue I shall explore in Chapter Five. As I explained, one of my themes in Chapter Six will be work as a means of using and organising time. At the end of his essay Weber tells us that,

> . . .when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which to-day determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those directly concerned with economic aquisition, with irresistible force. . . The care for external goods [has] become an iron cage. (Weber, op.cit: 181)

In the same passage, he points out that "the Puritan wanted to work in a calling; we are forced to do so", and that "the idea of duty in one's calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs" (ibid.). Today, although the religious rationale has faded away, the psychological sanction on working - the so-called "work ethic" - seems to have remained. Moreover, as Weber suggests, it has spread to encompass all sections of Western society, and is not confined to those who are, or whose ancestors were, practising Calvinists.

We saw earlier that among elites during the Renaissance much emphasis was placed on the scarcity of time, while work came to be seen as a valuable tool for the achievement of various ends. During the Reformation, increased emphasis was placed on the way that time was used, on the work in itself, with its end product seen as a demonstration that one had been diligent because one was sure of salvation. Today, what I think we have is a conflation of these strands, with the result that one's worth is often measured according to one's wealth, but also according to one's ability to put time "to good use". As I tried to show above, during industrialisation, putting time to good use meant dividing it up into controllable segments, just as labour itself was divided and skills were categorised. Some segments could be sold to an employer and others remained at the disposal of the

individual. All, however, were to be consumed in some way.

Pitt declares that "we all live under the tyrany of an ethic which equates work with happiness, self-fulfillment and duty" (op.cit.). More forcefully, in a recent article on "The drive to work" in **New Society**, Jonathan Steinberg uses a poem by Larkin which begins: "Why should I let the toad work/ Squat on my life?". He feels that he, like many others, is "defined and obsessed by work" (Steinberg 1986: 22). The reduced sense of control over and intimacy with one's job which characterises much work today, means that employment is often regarded with ambivalence. It is almost always desired, however, which is largely due to the historical factors I have been outlining.

In Cauldmoss today there is almost universal agreement that a large proportion of one's time should be spent in work, which is defined by villagers as an activity which is done in return for money, or which involves effort, or which is unenjoyable, or which is something that has to be done, a necessity. Sometimes, several of these features were mentioned by an informant. Ideally, such work should take a regular form. Although we encountered no definition of, or justification for, work in terms of religious beliefs, it should be evident from what was said earlier that the characteristics outlined above echo the calvinistic view of work to some extent. (See Chapter Four for a discussion of religious life in Cauldmoss.)

As for time in general, I think it is true to say, as Meyerhoff (op.cit.) implies, that the mechanisms by which we measure time - clocks and calendars - regulate our lives to such a degree that they frequently determine appropriate behaviour. This is true not simply in terms of the time which has been bought by an employer, but also of the time which remains after work. Thompson claims that most people carry a "desire to consume time purposively. . . just as they carry a watch on their wrist" (op.cit: 95). The second questionnaire we carried out in Cauldmoss revealed that out of 62 households questioned, only two contained no clocks, the average number of clocks per household being just over four. Of the 106 individuals interviewed, three-quarters claimed that they wore a watch. In many cases all but one of the clocks (the alarm clock) were located in the living room, where some kept four or five clocks, not all of which were working. This indicates that the ornamental function of time- pieces still remains, a fact which is reinforced by the number of respondants who said that they wear a watch only when "going out" (that is, for a night out), or only when they got dressed-up. The structure of life in this society today means that very few of us can operate successfully without recourse to a time-piece, and this is largely because of the demands of employment. It seems significant that the two Cauldmoss households I mentioned above which lack a clock, are both headed by unemployed men.

Having considered the various historical strands which have become woven into the image of time dominating our society today, I want to conclude this chapter by looking at the ways in which we order social time in particular.

The study of social time in modern Western society.

In this section I will give an overview of the analytical frameworks proposed by various writers on social time, and then consider the issue of ritual, particularly rites of passage. Such frameworks tend to isolate the key elements, the skeleton, of time as it enters into social life in Western society, and then go on to add flesh in the form of a catalogue of examples. They often classify such examples according to criteria such as the "privacy" or "publicity" of time periods, or the degree of control over time possessed by different types of individuals or groups within society. While I found such writing very useful in helping to clarify my ideas about time in Cauldmoss, I feel that to try and rigorously apply any of these frameworks or typologies to my data would prove too constraining, and is likely to produce a very stylized and tedious account. I will however make use of some of these ideas in subsequent chapters.

The expression "social time" was used in a 1937 essay by Sorokin and Merton which has inspired more recent writers, such as Wilbert Moore (1963) and Eviatar Zerubavel (1981). The latter, who uses the phrase "socio-temporal order", points out that while physical and biological approaches to time tend to emphasise its **objective** qualities, psychological and social perspectives focus on its **subjective** aspects, "the meanings that people attach to it. . . the way it is perceived and handled by collectives" (Zerubavel op.cit.: xii).

These different temporal orders are, of course, interlinked, and even physical time is a human construct in so far as different societies select particular natural phenomena for use in time-reckoning. The units of the hour and the week are "artificial" compared to the day, month and year. Sorokin and Merton explain that physically-based time-reckoning implies that time passes in relatively homogeneous units, while social time involves varying rhythms and the qualitative appraisal of quantitative time periods. Some periods of physical time seem short and others long because they "acquire specific qualities by virtue of association with the activities peculiar to them" (op.cit.: 617). An individual's experience of time is largely determined by her/his conditioning, part of which "consists of building up within the child a series of expectations about the duration of events, processes or relationships" (Zerubavel op.cit.: 13).

The relationship between an activity or event and its temporal characteristics largely

determines the way in which the activity is evaluated. Discussing the Balinese calender, Geertz says that a system which marks out particular times as appropriate for particular activities tells us "what **kind** of time it is" (Geertz 1975: 393, my emphasis). Our calender tells us what **time** it is, by providing labels to identify the position of events in the continuum of time, and such labels often have symbolic associations: 5 November, 25 December, 1 May, etc.

Several writers draw attention to the fact that our ideas about time appear to be somewhat paradoxical. For example, although physical time is based on an abstract mathematical system of reckoning, our image of time (thanks largely to the analogue clock) is a spatial and visual one, and its units take on an almost concrete reality. McLuhan points out that when we refer to duration we say **thereafter**, when we mean **thenafter**, and **always** when we mean at all **times** (McLuhan 1967: 117). Zerubavel goes so far as to suggest that each of us carries in our minds "a sort of 'temporal map' which consists of all our expectations regarding the sequential order, duration, temporal location, and rate of recurrence of events in our everyday life" (op.cit.: 14). The "scheduling" of social activities according to the clock and the calender allows a high degree of regularity in the "temporal profile" of social activities, so that "social life in itself [comes to] function as a clock or calender . . . it is quite often easy to tell the time simply by referring to our social environment" (ibid). Activities are assessed according to the perceived appropriateness of their position *vis-a vis* an objective time-marking system, and *vis-a vis* other types of activities (see Moore op.cit.: 7).

Some writers attempt to classify societies or social groups in terms of the complexity of ideas about time found within them. Gurvitch (1964), for example, examines various indices - "scales of temporality" - and then identifies eight different types of social time, including "enduring time", "retarded time" and "explosive time". Inspired by the work of Becker (1965), Linder (1970) classifies time according to five categories: "working time"; "time spent providing services for oneself"; "time spent in consuming goods"; "time devoted to the cultivation of mind and spirit"; "idleness". Analysis of the proportion of time spent on each of these by a society enables Linder to allocate that society to one of three types - "time surplus", "time affluent" or "time famine" cultures. He concludes that where "the level of income is extremely low . . . time is . . . not scarce" (ibid.: 19); idleness and misery are often concomitant, he believes. Where income-levels are high, on the other hand, time is felt to be in short supply. The experience of women in low-income households in this society, who are often forced to work a double-shift - inside and outside the home - changelles Linder's simplistic account. Moreever, Sahlins has demonstrated that small-scale societies which demonstrate a high level of free time "can enjoy an unparalled material plenty - with a low standard of living" (Sahlins 1972: 2).

Barry Schwarz (1974 and 1978) points out that differences in social status within our society are reflected in the extent to which individuals can control time; for example, in the degree of delay to which they are subject.

The expectations which a group has about the use and experience of time constitute their socio-temporal rules; these specify the appropriate values of the co-ordinates used in their socio-temporal map: socio-temporal rate, sequence, location, duration and synchronisation. The map is organised not simply by attaching particular activities to specific clock and calender times, but, more fundamentally, in terms of the movement from one activity to another, sometimes without reference to an external time-keeper.

"Socio-temporal rate" (sometimes called "periodicy", "tempo" or "rhythm") refers to the speed with which events and activities recur over time, their frequency. The rate of meeting occuring at 2p.m. every Monday can be measured according to mathematically regular intervals. That of family reunions taking place whenever there is a wedding or funeral is more difficult to quantify. However, normative prescriptions governing the recurrence of activities tend to impose a degree of regularity, for example on the spacing of visits to relatives, which should not be "too often" **or** "hardly ever".

"Socio-temporal sequence" descibes beliefs about the correct order of events; it covers ideas about what should come before and after in rituals, greetings, courtship, housework, bureacratic proceedures, etc. We are, of course, also governed by the "natural" sequence of events, such as the changes involved in aging, although convention imposed on this process largely determines how it will be perceived in different societies.

"Socio-temporal location" relates to ideas about when events and activities take place, either according to clock/calender time, or in terms of other events. For example, an individual might refer to an event which occured "during the war", or might talk about taking up a new hobby at a vague point in the future "when I have more time". That the members of a group can co-ordinate their activites by referring simply to events themselves ("at dinner time" or "during the holidays") demonstrates shared knowledge of the pattern of events and their position *vis-a-vis* physical time markers. Concepts of "early", "soon", "on time", "late" and "at the same time" are relevant here.

"Socio-temporal duration" is the term several writers use to describe beliefs and expectations about how long an activity lasts, beliefs which are often so firmly entrenched that duration tends to be an intrinsic element of activities. A visit which is perceived as "too short" is not a "real visit", and an engagement lasting years with no sign of marriage

might well be described as "a funny sort of engagement". In terms of our experience of duration, William James suggests that interesting or meaningful experiences seem to last a short time while they are happening, but a long time when remembered later, with the opposite being true for "empty" intervals of time.

"Socio-temporal synchronisation" covers both the way in which a society organises events and activities so that they occur "at the same time", and also the co-ordination of different activities, whereby they take place at times when they may complement one another. Such synchronisation is a crucial element in social solidarity.

Zerubavel points out that the analyst is able to identify the normative significance of ideas about the rate, sequence, location, duration and synchronisation of activities because of the negative sanctions which group members tend to attach to behaviour deviating from the "normal" rate, sequence, etc. Such sanctions may take the form of accusations of "bad taste", for example, or of just not doing something "right". It was in fact the high incidence of these sorts of expressions of disapproval (and also expressions of approval when an event "went off well", with everything done in the correct way and in the right order) which drew my attention to time in Cauldmoss in the first place. These conventional structures may change over time, but their symbolic significance tends to reinforce their rigidity. As Moore says, "the admonition 'work before play' provides a rank order as well as a temporal order of actions" (op.cit.: 48).

An important part of a group's temporal map is life-cycle ordering and the constructions which a society places on the maturation process, such as ideas about the nature of childhood, adulthood and old age. Within our society these constructs have altered in line with an increse in life expectancy and changing economic circumstances. The average age at which members of the working-class marry has actually fallen during this century, and couples tend to have children within a shorter period, so that both can work in their middle years. Following the development of industrial capitalism and the "increased bureaucratisation of the labour force" (ibid: 61), the structure of employment has become more standardised. Our society's attachment to the norms of an orderly and secure working life often produce practical and psychological problems for those without employment. Writing about those with jobs, analysts of social time tend to assume that the adoption of "career strategies" is widespread, a belief challenged, for example, by Chinoy (1955) and Wilensky (1966). I would howver agree with Roth (1963) in so far as he claims that most workers have "timetable norms" leading them to change jobs to improve their situation, and to seek to achieve goals such as buying a car or getting married.

In terms of the analysis of age groups, one important distiction is that between age-cohorts

(or age-sets), a collection of people born within a particular time span, and age-categories (or age-grades), through which cohorts move and to which particular roles and activities are ascribed. In common usage, the term "generation" is applied to both of these, for instance, "the post-war generation" or "the older generation" (and it can also refer to the average period of time between birth and procreation).

All societies tend to mark the transition from one significant phase of life to another, often in a "ritualistic" way, and this is simply a particularly clear case of the way in which we set boundaries around period of social time in general, whether these are daily activities, weekly events or a role in life. As Moore puts it, "ordering . . . involves marking off some kinds of units" (op.cit.: 17). Physical time provides one means of "binding" events and activities, but the nature of the activity itself or personality factors may set parameters around it; one can, for example, do a task until one has run out of time, until the task is finished, or until one gets bored by it.

I would argue that "ritual" is not limited to those activities accompanying life-cycle changes; it is a broader concept which includes what may be described as stylised or formalised everyday activities, which may have both immediatrely utilitarian and symbolic aspects. Ritual had been described as a form of communication (involving "instituted signs" and "symbolic action" taking place in the right order - see Douglas [1966]) which transmits culture, culture being the "public, standardised values of a community . . . a positive pattern in which ideas and values are tidily ordered" (ibid.: 38-9).

In his well-known analysis, Van Gennep claimed that the rituals urrounding the passage of an individual from one age or status to another (or the passage of the season or the year) tend to involve a three-phase structure, with certain rituals stressing particular elements of this structure more than others. Separation rites remove the person from her old social position in an enactment of symbolic death, before she is transformed in rites of transition, and then "reborn" into a new position within the community via rites of incorporation. The symbols employed tend to involve spatial movement - journeys, exits and entrances, boundaries and thresholds. Van Gennep describes the individual whose status is changing as "sacred" in relation to those remaining in the customary "profane" condition, and ritual is necessary to reduce the disruptive effect of such change, and to incorporate the individual back into the routines of normal life. Elaborating on this type of approach, Leach writes: "Without the festivals [time] periods would not exist, and all order would go out of social life . . . we **create** time by creating intervals in social life" (Leach 1961: 135). He believes that the stages in rites of passage are characterised by "formality" (separation), "role reversal" (transition) and "masquerade" (incorporation).

Among anthropologists, much attention has been focussed on the middle phases, the "marginal" or "liminal" state (from the Latin term *limen* meaning "threshold"). While rites of passage serve the whole community in so far as they protect the social classification, Turner, for example, concentrates on the experience of those undergoing the rites, and (he claims) being actively transformed by them. So the liminal phase of an initiation cememony involves ritual "levelling" or "communitas", as the initiates recognise the "essential and generic human bond, without which there could be no society" (Turner 1969: 32). This stage is marked by what he calls "anti-structure" in contrast to the "structure" which normally operates, distinguishing individuals according to social role and linking them in hierachical systems.

It is relatively easy to identify some at least of these characteristics in major life-cycle or annual-cycle events, such as weddings, funerals and Hogmanay, with their circumscibed periods of licence. At a lower level, the movement from one everyday activity to another may involve ritual to some extent, as a man switches from acting primarily as a worker, for example, during the day, and as a husband and father in the evenings and at weekends. Meals and sleep, for instance, separate peroids of time, and involve formalised behaviour.

Conclusion.

My aim in this thesis is to represent as fully as possible the form that time takes for the inhabitants of Cauldmoss. The purpose of this chapter was to explore the historical dimension, to suggest that villagers do not have their "own" idea of time which exists in a vacuum, but one which has developed within the context of Western capitalism. I traced the development of the concept of time in Western society from pre-Christian times through the Medieval period and then the Renaissance, drawing attention to the co-existence of both linear and cyclical images of time. I considered in particular the impact of industrial capitalism, and the role of religion in instilling time discipline. In discussing attitudes towards time today, I focussed on the importance of employment.

I then went on to examine the ways social time in modern Western society has been analysed, looking in particular at the concept of temporal maps and at a typology of social time which isolates five features: rate, sequence, location, duration and synchronisation. I touched on the issue of life-cycle ordering and rites of passage. While not intending to rigorously apply any particular model of social time to my data on the village, I will refer to the work of some of these writers where appropriate as I move on to describe Cauldmoss, and time in Cauldmoss, in the chapters that follow.

PART THREE:
TIME IN CAULDMOSS.

CHAPTER FOUR - CAULDMOSS.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE NATURE OF TIME IN CAULDMOSS.

CHAPTER SIX - TIME, FAMILY LIFE AND WORK IN CAULDMOSS.

CHAPTER FOUR.
CAULDMOSS.

Introduction.

In Chapter One, I stated that one of my aims in this thesis is to present a general ethnographic record of Cauldmoss. The purpose of this exercise is to provide an account from an area of Scotland which up until recently has been of little interest to anthropologists. Since, as we will see, Cauldmoss has many features in common with other working-class communities in Britain, this account will provide a comparison with those of Hoggart and Martin, for example. Finally, it will also give the reader the necessary background knowledge for the analysis of time in this community which follows in Chapter Six. Some of what I present here is of relevance to a consideration of time as it is experienced in this community; in which case, a fairly brief discussion here will be followed by a more detailed examination in those chapters.

I shall begin by describing the historical development of the town, looking in particular at the development of the mining industry. Then, having presented a picture of Cauldmoss today, its demographic, employment and infra-structural characteristics, I shall go on to look at images of Cauldmoss as presented by the inhabitants themselves -their identity as a community. This leads to a discussion of convention in the community, of the way in which the identity I have described is acquired and reproduced through the inculcation and maintenance of values and standards and through a strong emphasis on conformity. This feature of life in Cauldmoss will be of crucial importance in the next chapters, when I look at the degree of significance villagers attach to routine and to the past. I shall then turn to look at the various groups within the community (using the categories that villagers themselves distinguish). Finally, I shall consider villagers' attitudes towards education, religion and politics.

Cauldmoss in the past.

Situation and early history.

Cauldmoss is situated in the Central Lowlands between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde. It lies on a plateau of slightly undulating land (at about 500 feet above sea level), formed mainly of coal and millstone grit, covered by large areas of peat and moss, and

subsoil of clay and course sand. The only good agricultural land is near the river, and poor natural drainage and high rainfall, together with the acid soil and exposure to strong winds, has meant that the history of farming in this area has been a constant struggle to improve the land through the use of lime and other fertilisers, improvements to drainage and the planting of windbelts of trees. It was not until the second half of the ninteenth century that coal mining began to replace agriculture as the dominant economic activity in the area.

The report on Cauldmoss Parish found in the **Old Statistical Account of Scotland** (1795) states that the roads through the parish were "bad", and this was still the case in 1841 when the **New Statistical Account** was produced, although it was hoped at that time that the newly constructed railway crossing the parish, built to carry coal, would stimulate population growth and economic activity in the community.

The nearest community to Cauldmoss is a small settlement a mile or so away, known here as "Bingend". It is often seen by outsiders as part of Cauldmoss, although the inhabitants of the two communities emphasise the differences between the two villages (usually in terms of the "outlook" of their residents, rather than their social or economic characteristics). For this reason, I have largely excluded it from my discussion.

The earliest evidence of habitation in the Cauldmoss area dates from the Stone Age, about 2500 B.C. By the first century B.C., Cauldmoss was part of a mixed tribal territory called Manau inhabited by Picts and Celts, covering much of what is now the Central Region of Scotland. In the second century A.D. there was a strong Roman presence in this area. As some villagers today proudly point out, the Antonine Wall and the Military Way, built at the time, lie several miles from Cauldmoss. In the sixth century, the Scots from Dalriada in Ireland penetrated the area, bringing with them the Gaelic language.

During the twelfth century, David I of Scotland gave land to many of his Anglo-Norman friends in return for military duties. A Norman motte was built in Cauldmoss, probably around 1150. (This was "rennovated" by the local Scout pack several years ago.) At that time, the Cauldmoss community consisted of tenants dispersed about the baron's estate, either in isolated farms or in groups of farms, known as "fermtouns". Cauldmoss parish covered an area of approximately five square miles.

The fourteenth century saw the Cauldmoss lands being passed from one family to another as the English and Scots struggled for control of Scotland. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries various nobles shared the lands of Cauldmoss and the patronage of the church, but

by the mid-seventeenth century the Earls of Callender had gained control over most of the feudal estate. (Part of it, however, remained in the hands of the family to whom it had been chartered in 1536, and today the remaining member of this family is described by some in the village as "the laird of Cauldmoss". He owns a large house and estate on the outskirts of the village.) In 1715, the current Earl lost all his lands and titles, thanks to his espousal of the Jacobite cause, and the lands and barony of Callender were bought by a building company. The estates were sold again in 1783 to an individual whose descendants held them until recent years.

The growth of mining and other industries.

Cauldmoss remained a small farming community (including millers, joiners, smiths, etc.) until the development of the coal industry in the mid-nineteenth century. Up until that time, the population was probably stable at around a thousand. **The Old Statistical Account** of 1795 records the fact that Cauldmoss Parish had no real village within its bounds, simply several clusters of houses and isolated farms. At this time, the main crops were corn, oats, potatoes, cabbage, turnips and lint. Dairy cattle were also kept. In the 1850s , mining settlements started to spring up at the pits and these surrounded the village which had begun to emerge around the church.

The population figures for Cauldmoss Parish reflect the rapid rise and fall of the coal industry:

Table 1: Population of Cauldmoss Parish.

1801: 923	1891: 6,731	1951: 3,004
1851: 1,655	1901: 5,286	1961: 3.311
1861: 2,916	1911: 3,440	1971: 2,799
1871: 4,164	1921: 3,409	1981: 2,714
1881: 5,850	1931: 2,959	

Coal was being extracted on a small scale in the Cauldmoss area in the eighteenth century by the iron-working Carron Company of Falkirk, which employed between four and twenty men locally. The building of the branch railway across the parish in 1835 revealed the presence of several seams of good coal. Bores were sunk at various locations and vast amounts of coal and iron stone were found. By 1857 there were nine main coal-works in the

parish, most of which had a private railway joining up with the main line through the parish.

Houses, built by the coal owners around the pits, often had only one room and no proper floors, and were extremely damp. Subsidence due to mine workings below resulted in tilting walls and leaking roofs, while many inhabitants could hear the blasting at the coal face going on beneath them. The large extent of interrelatedness among the Cauldmoss population today (see section on kinship below and Chapter Six) is a result of the fact that many miners had very large families, often with eight or nine children. (One of my principal informants was an elderly widower whose father and grandfather had both been miners, as he himself had been. He had twelve children himself, most of whom lived in or near Cauldmoss. Appendix Two contains a genealogy of his family.) In 1857 miners were paid just over a penny for every ton of coal they produced, or 2.5d per day, while household coal cost 30d a ton. In 1862 the rate of pay doubled, but many families continued to live below the breadline, and throughout the rest of the century strikes were organised to further increase the wage. Some of these lasted for weeks, so that soup kitchens had to be organised to feed the children. However blacklegs, the truck system and the Desertion of Service law continued to hinder the miners' struggle.

The 1890s were the peak of the coal industry in Cauldmoss. After that decade, only one more branch railway was added to the network of rails serving the pits, and the number of pits being closed exceeded those being sunk. This was not due to falling trade but to general exhaustion of easily accessible reserves, and a reluctance by the mine owners to invest any further capital. Many of the older generation in Cauldmoss today entirely blame the owners for the industry's demise, claiming that there is still plenty of "the best coal in Scotland" lying beneath the village.

By 1910, many of the outlying hamlets were deserted as the workforce left to find employment elsewhere, and in 1928 the four main seams were all abandoned. The population stabilised at around 3,000 and men increasingly travelled away from the parish to work, mainly in surrounding pits, up to 10 miles away, and in the heavy industries in the towns, which Cauldmoss coal had fuelled. Informants recall that although the 1920s and thirties brought great hardship because of reduced wages, there was not a particularly high level of unemployment in the village.

During this century, a few opencast mines have continued to be worked. At the time of fieldwork, there were three operating near the village, under licence from the National Coal Board, through the Opencast Executive. However, few Cauldmoss men are employed

there. I will examine the jobs that **are** available to Cauldmoss folk both within the village and outside it in a later section.

Apart from coal mining and farming, there have existed, at various times, several other industries in Cauldmoss. These include the gas works, which opened in 1855, but closed in 1940, leaving only one source of energy (apart from coal, wood and peat) in the village today. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the production of coal led to the setting up of coke manufacturing.

Between 1905 and 1936 a Dutch firm exploited the moors around the village producing moss-litter and packing materials. This company employed only Dutch workers, and some of these men settled in Cauldmoss where their descendants are to be found today. In 1962, a company was formed to develop the commercial production of peat, mainly for horticultural purposes, and this is still operating. In its early years, this business provided jobs for several Cauldmoss men, but today it employs few locals, digging being now totally mechanised.

In 1906, there were three quarries at the eastern end of the parish, working granite and whinstone, and at one time these produced about two thousand tons of road metal per year, which was delivered to the nearby towns. Now, however, there is no quarrying in the area. During the last century, there were several brickworks in the parish, and in 1937 the industry was re-established near the village, employing many locals. However, this survived for only forty years, and today the ruined works are a local landmark. Just before it closed, it employed about twenty men from Cauldmoss.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was a biscuit and confectionary factory in Cauldmoss. There was, for a short time around 1825, a distillery producing whisky, and it has been recorded that there were many illicit stills found in Cauldmoss, especially in the houses of miners. Although there exist no mills of any kind in the village today, in the past there were several, some working for over two hundred years. These processed corn, and later lint, barley and oats. There were also two woollen mills within the parish. In his history of Cauldmoss (which I mentioned in Chapter Two but will not include in my Bibliography in order to protect the identity of the village), a clergyman born in the village describes several business ventures which have been considered over the years for Cauldmoss, but which never materialised. In 1919, the Parish Council agreed to grant sites free of duty for ten years. "The fact that no industries developed in Cauldmoss in spite of these favourable conditions shows that no company felt that the area held out any real possibilities for a prosperous industry".

Poor relief, local government and law and order.

Before the Reformation, many functions of local government administration were dealt with at parish level. After 1560 the system of poor relief managed by the minister and kirk session in each parish laid the foundation for the growth of more secular local government. In 1795, the number of those receiving assistance in the Cauldmoss Parish was twelve. By 1841 this had dropped to three. After the Poor Law (Scotland) Act of 1845, Parochial Boards (consisting of Heritors [property holders] and some members of the kirk session) were established to administer poor relief, the money being raised by a levy on households. During the 1860s, the population of Cauldmoss rose very quickly as described above, and in 1866 there were twenty nine people on the Board's roll. If there was room for them, some of the poor of Cauldmoss would be sent to the poorhouse in the nearby town.

Until 1854 it was the minister's duty to record births, marriages and deaths. After this date, the Parochial Boards appointed Parish Registrars. In Cauldmoss the Inspector of the Poor took on the job of Registrar, and this dual role continued until 1929 when the Inspector of the Poor was abolished. Today, Cauldmoss retains its own Registrar, a woman, whose office is in her council flat.

The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1889 established County Councils and Cauldmoss came under the jurisdiction of Stirling Council, although the local Commissioner of Supply was responsible for highways in the district. Another Act five years later replaced Parochial Boards with Parish Councils, which had the responsibility for poor relief, registration, etc. In its early days the Parish Council in Cauldmoss used an office in the railway station for council business. In 1929 Parish Councils were replaced by District Councils. After the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1973, Cauldmoss became part of a district within the new Central Region of Scotland.

Resonsibility for law and order was taken out of the hands of the feudal lords and given to Justices of the Peace in 1587. During the seventeenth century, they, together with the Commissioners of Supply, were empowered to appoint constables for every area, including Cauldmoss.

In 1824 the Heritors of Cauldmoss applied to the Justice Clerk of the nearby town to appoint twenty-one Special Constables, mainly for the purposes of guarding new graves in the churchyard against the infamous Burke and Hare, who operated in the Lowlands in the

1820s . Many of the names on this list are to be found in Cauldmoss today. It was not until 1877 that a police station was built in Cauldmoss. The two resident constables were removed from the community in 1979.

The development of the church and education.

There has probably been a church in Cauldmoss from the fourth century, when Christianity was first preached in Scotland. The earliest church in Cauldmoss was built, in wood, on a hill about half a mile from the site of the present Church of Scotland. It was closely linked to the church in the nearby town. These links were largely severed, however, in the twelfth century, when the Norman lord of Cauldmoss took charge of the old Celtic church, providing it with a new priest and granting it tithes from his estate. In the early thirteenth century, the wooden church was replaced by one built of stone and situated next to the motte (where the Church of Scotland now stands).

Throughout the Middle Ages, the lords of the manor of Cauldmoss held patronage of the church, although by the sixteenth century the church was served by only an assistant rector (known as the vicar or chaplain), the rector being responsible for several parishes. In 1560, the vicar of Cauldmoss church went over to the Reformed Church, of which he became minister in 1574.

In 1612 the Scottish Church adopted Episcopacy as its legal system, and this act was followed by a bitter struggle within the church to re-establish Presbyterian worship, culminating in the National Covenant of 1638, which thousands of Protestants signed. From the 1660s to 1690 (when Presbyterianism was finally re-established as the official form of Church government) outlawed meetings of Protesters, known as Conventicles, were held in farm houses or on open moorland. There were several such meeting places in the area around Cauldmoss, and some villagers sometimes told us proudly that secret religious meetings used to take place on the moss.

In 1810 a new church was built, using stone from the old building, and this is the parish church today. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Cauldmoss church held Sunday Schools in several of the mining settlements in the parish, and opened a mission church in Bingend. A Women's Guild was started, and a church hall built in Cauldmoss.

At the Disruption in 1843, following the General Assembly's rejection of a move to allow congregations to choose their own minister, many ministers and large sections of

congregations broke away from the Church of Scotland. Although the minister in Cauldmoss did not leave the Church, a Free Church was established, one of the first in Scotland, and a new church building was erected. The two churches were united in 1929 and both buildings continued to be used until 1946, when the old Free Kirk was converted into a church hall. It was later demolished following a fire. Many of the older people in Cauldmoss talk about the old "Wee Free Kirk", saying what a lovely building it was.

During the second half of the last century, when Cauldmoss was at the height of its prosperity, there were large congregations at both these churches, and smaller meetings at the Methodist chapel and the Church of Christ. The latter actually bought the Methodist chapel in 1917, by which time the number of Methodists in Cauldmoss had dwindled considerably. The Roman Catholic congregation in the district built a chapel in 1885, near Bingend. It was not until 1960, however, that a chapel was built in Cauldmoss itself. The Salvation Army and the Apostolic Church were also active in Cauldmoss, the former during the last years of the nineteenth century, and the latter during the 1920s and 'thirties.

Today, neither of these remain, although the Church of Scotland, the Catholic chapel and the Church of Christ still attract congregations. I shall return to this issue below in the section on religious life in Cauldmoss today.

Table 2: Membership of Church of Scotland and Associated Institutions in Cauldmoss. (Church of Scotland Yearbook).

	1929	1961	1971	1981
No. of communicants:	391	464	467	427
No of elders:	8	16	14	12
No in Women's Guild:	39	64	44	20
No. in Sunday School:	170	210	107	10
No. in Bible Class:	22	15	8	0

It is probable that educational facilities have existed in Cauldmoss from the early 1600s. Certainly by the end of that century there was a grammar school there, which for half the year was conducted at the east end of the parish and during the other half of the year at the west end. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that one central school was erected, and this became the Public School after the Education Act of 1872. It was

administered by a school board, which included the ministers of both the Parish and the Free Church. A new school building was opened in 1876. At this time there were 220 pupils on the roll, and the head-master was assisted by three full-time teachers, an assitant and three pupil-teachers.

In 1932, a large extension was added, including technical and cookery rooms. Provision was made for a two-year Advanced Division Course and there was room for 600 children. After a fire in the 1960s, the school was modernised, and today the building serves as a primary school only. After the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church set up its own schools -a primary and an Industrial School; the latter had 44 girls who learned plain and ornamental needlework, amongst other things. In 1894, the Free Church School came under the control of the School Board, but it was not united with the Public School until 25 years later, its building being used for the Advanced Division. It was finally closed in 1932, although the building was then used by the Boys Club for several years.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there were six colliery schools within the parish, serving the various mining communities. These included an Adventure School, which the Cauldmoss School Board tried to have closed because it felt the educational standards there were not high enough. The number of Roman Catholics among the miners warranted the establishment of a Catholic school, which was opened in 1885, and had 132 pupils. By 1911, when only 49 pupils remained, the school was closed, the children going to the Public School instead.

Cauldmoss in the 1980s .

Communications and facilities.

Today, the village is served by minor roads, linking it to the motorway between Edinburgh and Glasgow, and there is a fairly regular (at least hourly) bus service into the nearest town. Cauldmoss is several miles from the main industrial conurbation of the Central Region of Scotland: Boness, Grangemouth and Falkirk. The railway passing through the parish was closed to passenger traffic in 1930, and the nearest railway station is now in the local town. The proportion of car-owning households in Cauldmoss rose from 45% in 1971 to 53% in 1981.

Three quarters (73% in 1981) of the population of Cauldmoss live in council houses,

primarily in a central scheme or estate, built after the Second World War, or on the more outlying streets such as the one in which we lived (described in Chapter Two). The rest of the population live in private houses (a few dating from the nineteenth century, although many are modern bungalows) stretching along the approach roads to Cauldmoss. A housing association recently constructed a complex of old people's sheltered accommodation in the village, which has thirty residents. Others live on small farms, about twenty-five of which lie within a radius of two miles of the village centre.

When we lived there, Cauldmoss had four grocery shops, a fish-and-chip shop, a hardware and car-parts store, and a baby-wear shop. There was also a chemist, three haidressing shops, and sub-branches of the post office, bank and library, as well as a betting office, three pubs and three clubs. Besides these, the village was served by a number of mobile shops. It had a health clinic, a fire station, a large community centre, a modern nursery school and a primary school. There were two "parks" (fields with playing equipment for children), one of which also had a football pitch.

Current population, employment and unemployment rates.

As was described earlier, when opportunities for employment within the coal industry dwindled, the population of Cauldmoss fell very rapidly. The number of inhabitants within the parish has continued to fall, apart from a slight increase between 1931 and 1961. Although the 1981 Census reveals only a marginal decline since 1971 in the population figure for the parish as a whole, if one compares the population of what the Census terms the "Cauldmoss locality" (that is, the village only), the 1981 figure, 1578, is 204 less than that recorded a decade earlier.

In order to compare various characteristics of the Cauldmoss population in 1971 and 1981, we had to select several Enumeration Districts covering the village itself, Bingend, and approximately twenty-five farms in the locality, whose inhabitants described themselves as living in Cauldmoss.

Within this area, the population stood at 2036 in 1981, compared to 2216 in 1971 (a fall of 8%). In 1981 there were 1007 males and 1029 females, comprising 686 households. In 1981 the Cauldmoss population was ethnically extremely homogeneous, with almost 96% being native-born Scots, the majority born in Cauldmoss itself (see the section on "Groups and Institutions" below). Apart from one individual, (a Sri Lankan who was married to a Scot and who was away most of the time working on the oil rigs) the only "blacks" in the

village were the Pakistanis who owned one of the grocery shops, and actually lived in another village.

Reference was made earlier to the large size of many mining families in Cauldmoss during the nineteenth century. Today, families are much smaller, the average number of persons per household being just under three in 1981. Only 41% of households in that year had any dependent children, and only 9% had three or more dependent children.

Although the overall population of Cauldmoss has declined between 1971 and 1981, the numbers in both the 20 - 24 and 25 - 29 age groups are actually higher in 1981 than they were in 1971 despite the fact that there was a huge increase in the proportion of 16 to 24 year olds "not in employment" over this period. The **Survey Report** for the District Council's **Rural Local Plan,** produced in June 1980, states that the area has disproportionally more young people than the local authority district to which it belongs. I shall consider below the reasons why these individuals do not appear to be moving from Cauldmoss at the expected rate.

In Scotland the unemployment situation has always been much worse than in England, and in its isolated communities, like Cauldmoss, it is worse still. According to the 1981 Census, the proportion of those economically active seeking work in the Cauldmoss area stood at almost 15.4%, compared to just under 6.4% in 1971.

The unemployment rate for the district to which Cauldmoss belongs, which is centred on the nearby town, rose from 7.4% in July 1979 to 16.7% in October 1982. In February 1983, when 700 jobs were axed at a major rolling mill in the town, the rate increased to 19.6%. (This was compared to the Scottish average of 16.2% and the U.K. figure of 13.7%.) In September 1983 the district rate stood at 17.4% (a drop probably due to seasonal adjustments in labour demand). The local District Council's **Annual Report and Financial Statement for 1982/3** (December 1983) pointed out that almost six thousand jobs had been shed by major firms alone in the previous three years, and that the demand for factory space had fallen sharply. It states that the rate of unemployment among young people was one of the highest in Scotland; between 1978 and 1982 it rose by 454% for 16 - 19 year olds, and by 728% for 20 - 24 year olds. The Council and local businessmen attempted to stimulate industry in the area by providing factory unit and information resources for new businesses, and by trying to win Special Development Area and Enterprise Zone status for the district. However, in his foreword to the report, the council's Chief Executive expressed strong doubts about the area's economic future, doubts which events since then have proved to be justified.

Table 3: Economic Characteristics of Cauldmoss Population Over 16. (1981 Census).

	male	female	total
Working full time	475 64%	239 30%	714 47%
Working part time	8 1%	85 11%	93 6%
Seeking work	103 14%	49 6%	152 10%
Temporarily sick	21 3%	5 1%	26 2%
Permanently sick	34 5%	6 1%	40 3%
Retired	80 11%	30 4%	110 7%
Students	14 2%	17 2%	31 2%
Other economically inactive	2 0%	358 45%	360 24%
Total Number	737	789	1526

Although the 1981 Census (See Table 3), taken in April of that year, indicates a male unemployment rate of 20%, the questionnaire we carried out in Cauldmoss between July and September 1982 (See Table 4), suggested an unemployment rate of 42% among male council tenants, 8% of whom were temporarily sick. It is probable that some men in this second group would in fact prefer to have a job if one offering decent pay were available, but because Sickness Benefit is higher than Unemployment/Supplementary Benefit, a few continue to claim it for as long as possible. Among the males in private houses in our sample, 14% were looking for work, making an overall male unemployment rate of 37%. The difference between our figures and those of the Census is due to changes in the local economy between April 1981 and July 1982 and to slight discrepancies in the definition of categories, and possibly to the small size of our sample.

The questionnaire indicated that in 1982, 43% of women living in public housing in the village had jobs, while 69% of those in private housing worked outside the home, giving an overall female employment rate of 48%. (The Census gives a figure of 53%.) The proportion of married women in the labour force rose from 31% in 1971 to 44% in 1981. Interestingly, none of the women in our 1982 sample described themselves as "unemployed", although the Census states that 13% of the economically active female population of Cauldmoss were seeking work (the figure given for female unemployment in the district as a whole is only 6.2%). Of the women in the village who had jobs, both the questionnaire sample and the Census results agree that approximately a quarter work part-time, a much higher figure than that for men. In line with the rise in the numbers seeking work in Cauldmoss between

TABLE 4: Employment status of those over 16, from 1982 and 1985 questionnaires.

numbers (percentage of column total)

	Summer 1982						End of 1985					
	men		women		TOTAL		men		women		TOTAL	
Council tenants:												
full time employed	34	(54)	15	(25)	49	(40)	32	(55)	12	(21)	44	(38)
part time employed			6	(10)	6	(5)			5	(9)	5	(4)
seeking work	20	(32)			20	(16)	16	(28)	2	(3)	18	(16)
invalidity	5	(8)			5	(4)	2	(3)			2	(2)
housewives			27	(46)	27	(22)			25	(43)	25	(22)
retired (women over 60)	3	(5)	10	(17)	13	(11)	7	(12)	13	(22)	20	(17)
full time education									1	(2)	1	(1)
permanently sick	1	(2)	1	(2)	2	(2)	1	(2)			1	(1)
TOTAL COUNCIL TENANTS	63		59		122		58		58		116	
% male unemployment		42%						36%				
% ♀ 16-60 in employment				43%						38%		
Private house residents:												
full time employed	12	(80)	8	(57)	20	(69)	18	(69)	8	(40)	26	(57)
part time employed			1	(7)	1	(3)			3	(15)	3	(7)
seeking work	2	(13)			2	(7)	3	(12)	2	(10)	5	(11)
invalidity							1	(4)			1	(2)
housewives			4	(29)	4	(14)			5	(25)	5	(11)
retired (women over 60)	1	(7)	1	(7)	2	(7)	2	(8)	1	(5)	3	(7)
full time education							1	(4)	1	(5)	2	(4)
permanently sick							1	(4)			1	(2)
TOTAL IN PRIVATE HOUSES	15		14		29		26		20		46	
% male unemployment		14%						18%				
% ♀ 16-60 in employment				69%						58%		
Council and private house residents:												
full time employed	46	(59)	23	(32)	69	(46)	50	(60)	20	(26)	70	(43)
part time employed			7	(10)	7	(5)			8	(10)	8	(5)
seeking work	22	(28)			22	(15)	19	(23)	4	(5)	23	(14)
invalidity	5	(6)			5	(3)	3	(4)			3	(2)
housewives			31	(42)	31	(21)			30	(38)	30	(19)
retired (women over 60)	4	(5)	11	(15)	15	(10)	9	(11)	14	(18)	23	(14)
full time education							1	(1)	2	(3)	3	(2)
permanently sick	1	(1)	1	(1)	2	(1)	2	(2)			2	(1)
TOTAL COUNCIL + PRIVATE	78		73		151		84		78		162	
% male unemployment		37%						31%				
% ♀ 16-60 in employment				48%						44%		

$$\% \text{ male unemployment} = \frac{\text{seeking work + invalidity}}{\text{full time emp. + part time emp. + seeking work + invalidity}} \times 100$$

1971 and 1981, there was a decrease in those in full-time employment which reflects the situation in the U.K. as a whole.

Table 4 indicates a small overall reduction in male unemployment between 1982 and 1985, although there was an increase in the proportion of women and owner-occupiers seeking work. The percentage of women in employment fell over this period, both among council tenants and owner-occupiers.

The employment of the Cauldmoss workforce.

The first part of this section will be an analysis based on figures provided by the Census; the second part will be based on observations we made "on the ground" in Cauldmoss.

Table 5: Socio-Economic Groups in Cauldmoss. (1981 Census)

1. Employers and managers...in large establishments	5	3%
2. Employers and managers...in small establishments	11	7%
3. Professional workers - self-employed	4	3%
4. Professional workers - employees	2	1%
5. Intermediate non-manual workers	11	7%
6 Junior non-manual workers	3	2%
7. Personal service workers	1	1%
8. Foremen and supervisors - manual	14	9%
9. Skilled manual workers	57	36%
10. Semi-skilled manual workers	26	17%
11. Unskilled manual workers	23	15%

Table 5 shows the distribution of the Cauldmoss workforce in 1981 according to socio-economic group (SEG -a different classification system to "social class", with which I shall deal in the section on social groups below). Aggregating these figures, one finds that over 77% of those in employment were manual workers (including supervisors); 10% were non-manual or personal service workers (those involved in catering and personal needs services, etc.); 10% were employers and managers, while 4% were professional workers. This was in keeping with the general picture we found.

However, the limitations of the 10% Census sample are underlined by the fact that it states that there were no workers falling within SEG numbers 12-16, which cover non-professional own account workers, farmers, agricultural workers and members of the

armed forces. As was pointed out earlier, there were in fact at least 25 farms within the enumeration districts under examination, and we knew of a small number of own account workers and members of the armed forces living in the village when the Census was taken.

Comparing the membership of SEGs in 1981 with those for 1971, one finds the situation largely unchanged, although in 1971 junior non-manual workers (clerical and sales staff etc.) constituted a much smaller proportion of those in work.

Those **not** in employment in 1981 were, in equal proportions, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. There were also a number without work who inadequately described, or did not state, their former occupation. In 1971 the majority of the unemployed, where former occupation was given, were skilled manual workers.

Concentrating on those with formal jobs in Cauldmoss (that is, excluding housewives and students) Table 6 shows the percentage of the workforce in different categories of employment:

Table 6: Employment Categories of Cauldmoss Workforce. (1981 Census).

Apprentices and trainees	3.7%
Other employees	70.8%
Employees supervising others	15.2%
Self-employed without employees	5.5%
Self-employed with employees	4.8%

It appears that opportunities for school leavers to receive training within a permanent job declined between 1971 and 1981 (5.5% were apprentices and trainees in 1971). Government Youth Training Schemes will be discussed below. It would also seem that a larger proportion of those who had jobs in 1981 held supervisory positions (15.2% compared to 7.5% in 1971). This may have been due to employers preferring to sack ordinary workers rather than those with some responsibility. The total proportion who were self-employed rose only slightly (from 9.8% to 10.3%), although it might have been expected that more unemployed men would have set up their own businesses by 1981.

Table 7: The Industries and Proximity of Employment for Cauldmoss Workforce. (1981 Census).

	% employed in industry	% in industry working outside local authority district
Other services	31.5	26
Distribution & catering	27.4	15
Manufacturing	20.5	13
Transport	8.2	0
Construction	6.8	60
Energy and water	4.1	33
Agriculture	1.4	0

Table 7 reveals the proportion of the Cauldmoss workforce which worked in the different industries in 1981, and how many in each category worked outside the local authority district in which the village is situated. Here the Census **does** include a number working in agriculture.

Unfortunately, there are no strictly comparable data for 1971, but the information available suggests that the major changes were in the proportions working in mining, agriculture and construction, which declined over the decade in question, while the proportion employed in the service industries seems to have increased. According to the 10% sample, those not in employment in 1981 normally worked primarily in manufacturing, construction and "other services", with a smaller proportion in transport.

In 1981 over 20% of workers had jobs outside the local authority district. The majority of workers resident in Cauldmoss in 1981 were employed in the local conurbation, although a few men, for example those working at oil fields or for building firms with contracts in other parts of Scotland, actually lived away from the village for weeks at a time. Some people, of both sexes, worked in Glasgow or Edinburgh, with which there are good public transport links from the nearby town. But there were others who worked at less accessible locations; we knew of one man, for instance, who had to get up at 5 am in order to get the firm's bus to Mossmorran in Fife, and who did not return home until 7 pm each day, after the bus had made its rounds dropping off other workers.

During the time of fieldwork, very few Cauldmoss folk had jobs within the village itself. There were three principal employers in Cauldmoss, plus several coal merchants. One of these employers had a haulage firm; one had a haulage firm and a shop, and the third was a builder who also owned a shop. With the exception of the first employer, all of these employed local people who were recruited primarily through personal contacts. The other shops in the village each employed one or two locals (usually women), and the post office, library, health clinic, schools and community centre, also provided jobs for a limited number of residents.

The first haulage contractor mentioned above explained to me that she prefered to employ individuals living in other villages because, if she had to sack a worker who was from Cauldmoss, she was likely ". . . to meet his wife in the shop", and in the current employment situation, resentment would be high. Despite the importance of kin helping an individual get work, this particular employer said that she herself was unlikely to employ a worker's son, because if the lad turned out to be unsatisfactory, and had to be laid off, she would still have to deal with his father every day.

Apart from these employers, there was one other entrepreneur in Cauldmoss; he employed sales representatives from outwith the village, although he did take on some labourers and cleaners from Cauldmoss for short periods. As was mentioned above, there were a very small number of men employed at the opencast mines around Cauldmoss. In general, employers in the village did not share the jaundiced view of the Cauldmoss workforce found among employers in the local town, an attitude I shall explore in more detail in the section on "Images of Cauldmoss" below.

There were a small number of own-account workers in the village, mainly skilled manual workers such as builders and plumbers. As I mentioned earlier, few of those who had been made redundant set up in business by themselves. The Manpower Services Commission's Enterprise Allowance Scheme is designed to encourage self-employment by replacing lost benefits with a £40 per week taxable allowance for a maximum of 52 weeks. One disincentive to taking part in the Scheme is undoubtedly the £1000 the applicant must have (or borrow) to invest in the proposed business.

Because of employers' preference for those already in work, the Jobcentre in the local town seems to function largely as an employment exchange. The jobs advertised there were mainly for time-served and experienced tradesmen (especially in the construction industry), for sales representatives willing to work on an own-account basis, and for clerical and cleaning staff (jobs usually taken by women).

The fact that most of the vacancies which did occur were in the building trade prompted some men from Cauldmoss to make inquiries at the Jobcentre about getting on to training schemes to learn construction skills. Although there was general agreement in Cauldmoss that the government schemes catering for the under 18s (the Youth Opportunities Scheme and the Youth Training Scheme which succeeded it) were little more than "slave labour", the programmes for adults (the Training Opportunities Scheme and the Community Programme) were viewed more favourably. This was because they provided a level of pay approaching that offered for a "real" job, although for many, especially those with families, this was not greater than welfare benefits. However, these schemes were not generally considered to be "real work", on a par with ordinary paid employment because they had been created specifically to "help" the unemployed and because of their temporary nature.

The YOP schemes which ran in Cauldmoss itself, attracted many applicants from the village, but when these ended in 1982, few school leavers were prepared to travel to take part in schemes organised in the towns, largely because of the cost of busfares and lunches. No Community Programme was set up in Cauldmoss, although an official at the local Jobcentre told me that as the number of long-term unemployed increased, so did demand for Community Programme places throughout the area. Unfortunately, statistics on the numbers from Cauldmoss participating in the various schemes were not available, but our impression was that only a very small percentage of the unemployed took part in them.

The same official said that among other government schemes, the Young Workers Scheme had been taken up by many small firms of the local town and the surrounding area (including Cauldmoss). Under this scheme, employers received payment from the Department of Employment of £15 per week for any 18 year old in their first year of employment who was paid less than £42 gross each week (£7.50 where gross earnings were between £42 and £47). The Jobcentre official pointed out that, considering the nature of the work involved, these rates of pay were insufficient to attract large numbers of applicants. Young people may have found themselves doing a job for which an older employee was paid far more, and the Department of Employment leaflet said: "Provision of training is not. . . a condition of the Scheme" (Leaflet PL730 1983: 1).

This official also said that the Job Release Scheme had encouraged a substantial number of workers in the area to take early retirement, and was providing more job opportunities for the unemployed. On the other hand, the Job Splitting Scheme, which offered employers a single grant of £750 to split existing full-time jobs into two part-time jobs, had

met with little success. People in Cauldmoss tended to believe that "a real job is a forty-hour-a-week job", an attitude which I shall consider in more depth in Chapter Six.

The proportion of over-sixteens in Cauldmoss who were in full-time education did not increase over the decade 1971 to 1981. Many school pupils in Cauldmoss felt that academic qualifications would not greatly increase their chance of getting employment when there was so little work available. However, some young people in Cauldmoss, having left school with few (if any) qualifications, did return to education after a period of unemployment, and took vocational courses at the technical college in the local town. Even then, many still had difficulty finding work locally. The Jobcentre official pointed out that there were people in their mid-20s who had inquired about the Employment Transfer Scheme (which provided financial help to those who moved to another area to take up a job). But since help is only available when the job cannot be filled locally, few were eligible, and this tended to further discourage individuals from moving away.

In May 1981, a proposal was made by the District Council that a small industrial site be created in Cauldmoss. Following a public meeting in the village (which was actually attended by only 17 residents), the proposal was dropped because of the "wealth of objections to this suggestion, not only from neighbouring residents who feared loss of amenity, but also from official bodies questioning the need for an industrial site in the village." (Rural Local Plan Public Participation Report, January 1982).

It would seem that the Council recognised the need to offer some assistance to the community, but that "official bodies", and some of the inhabitants of Cauldmoss, recognised that the demand from small business persons requiring such factory units in Cauldmoss would not be great.

Welfare provisions.

In November 1983, there were 54 different social security, welfare and employment schemes in existence in the U.K. The last section dealt with the employment programmes which were being utilised in the Cauldmoss area at the time of fieldwork. Here I intend to outline the welfare benefits claimed by villagers and discuss their attitudes towards the state welfare system. As it proved impossible to obtain official statistics on how many people in Cauldmoss itself were claiming the various benefits, what follows are our impressions of the situation.

Of those in Cauldmoss who were seeking work, a number were receiving Unemployment Benefit; some got Supplementary Benefit in addition if their income from Unemployment Benefit was insufficient for their needs. However, the majority (those with insufficuent National Insurance credits or who had already claimed Unemployment Benefit for a year) received Supplementary Benefit only. Both groups claimed Housing Benefit, which in effect meant that most paid no, or very little rent and rates. Those on "supplementary" were also entitled to free school meals for their children and to free prescriptions, glasses and dental treatment. They could, and many did, claim special needs payments for such things as furniture and baby clothes. During the time of fieldwork in Cauldmoss, such grants became increasingly difficult to obtain (and they were totally abolished or replaced by loans with the reforms to the benefit system which took place in April 1988).

The following examples provide an idea of the level of weekly income for the unemployed (based on rates given in **Welfare Rights Bulletin**):

Table 8: Levels of State Benefit per Week (December 1983).

Unemployment Benefit	£27.05
Extra for dependent adult	£16.70
Extra for each child	£0.15
Supplementary Benefit - single householder	£26.80
Supplementary Benefit - couple	£43.40
Supplementary Benefit - non-householder (age 16/17)	£16.50
Extra for each child - non-householder over 17	£21.45
Invalidity Benefit	£32.60
Extra for dependent adult	£19.55
Extra for each child	£9.15

When asked how they manage on benefits, the unanimous response from the unemployed in Cauldmoss was "no' very well", and those involved in "fiddles" of various types justified their actions by pointing to their low level of income. The ethos of consumerism means the people's well-being necessitates more than simply enough cash for biological survival. Since benefit rates allowed very little extra to be bought beyond basic food, fuel and clothing (if that), some people got into debt to maintain an outward appearance of affluence. Money was borrowed from kin, or credit companies, and the use of mail-order

catalogues and hire purchase was fairly common. (See Chapter Six.) However, this was a very sensitive area, and it was difficult to assess the extent of indebtedness with precision.

Many informants pointed out that only those with several children received anything like a sufficient amount (and it was those who were most entrenched in the "unemployment trap" [see Parker 1975]). Couples where one or both worked and who had children, could claim Family Income Supplement (FIS) if their weekly earnings were below certain levels (£85.50 where there was one child, £114 where there were four). Since in most cases a low wage plus FIS was worth less than the amount of Supplementary Benefit that could have been claimed, FIS did not provide an incentive to take poorly paid jobs (Parker ibid: 90). However, we knew of several families receiving this benefit in Cauldmoss, which also entitled them to free school meals for their children, free prescriptions etc.

Those who were "temporarily sick" received £29.95 per week, plus Invalidity Allowance (between £2.30 and £7.15 depending on age) and allowances for dependents. Most of those who were "permanently sick", received Invalidity Benefit of £32.60 per week, plus extra alowances for each dependent. There were a few within the "permanently sick" category who needed frequent attention and so received an Attendance Allowance (at least £17.50 per week); in some cases they were cared for by a relative who was him/herself claiming Invalid Care Allowance of £19.70 per week. This was not payable to married women at the time, although a recent test case in the EEC Court of Human Rights has changed the situation. There were probably also some older men in Cauldmoss receiving Industrial Disablement Benefit (the amount of which varies according to the degree of disablement), as a result of an accident or disease contracted at work - in this case, in the mines. Since most ex-miners in the village were over pension age, those entitled to this benefit received it in addition to their basic state pension.

There were probably more people in Cauldmoss claiming retirement pensions (£34.50, or £54.50 for a couple) than any other state benefit. Very few appeared to receive private pensions as well, and some pensioners complained that they found it difficult to manage on their benefit. There were a number of widows receiving the various benefits to which they were entitled. All mothers in Cauldmoss received Child Benefit (known locally by some as "dirty money") of £5.85 per child per week. Some claimed One-parent Benefit in addition.

As in most communities, the extent of knowledge about entitlement to different benefits varied considerably; some individuals seemed to know a great deal, others relatively little. All agreed that the benefit system was confusing; many believed that this was a

policy on the part of the government to discourage claims, and they pointed to the apparent unwillingness of benefit office staff to inform applicants of their entitlements. In order to obtain either Unemployment or Supplementary Benefit people from Cauldmoss had first to register their claim at the Unemployment Benefit Office (UBO) or at the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS) in the local town. At the DHSS they completed a lengthy form of several unfolding pages, which was greeted with comments such as, "It's like a fucking accordion!"

Following an interview, either at the office, or in case of Supplementary Benefit, in their home, individuals claimed by post, sending in a slip each fortnight and receiving their "giro" a few days later. Despite the change (part of the rationalisation of the system) in most benefit payments from a weekly to fortnightly basis, it remained possible for people who found it difficult to manage their money to opt for weekly payments. Several in Cauldmoss did this.

The slip, on which the claimant declared that s/he had done no work, paid or unpaid, had to be counter-signed by someone (a non-relative and non-claimant) who knew him/her, who was either a householder in the district, an employee in the same industry or a trade union official. In general there was a casual attitude towards these forms in Cauldmoss, although we learnt that the post marks were checked by benefit officers to ascertain where they were sent from each fortnight. Every three months, claimants had to return to the benefit office for another interview and to collect a new book of slips.

When asked, in the first questionnaire, how they would describe going along to register their claim at the local town, 39% of respondents (many of whom had done this at some stage) said that it was simply "a necessity", while 37% described it as "unenjoyable". The most vehement criticisms were levelled against the staff at the DHSS rather than those working at the UBO. In general, people had to wait for much longer to be seen at the DHSS (up to three hours in some cases) and many felt that the staff there were less sympathetic to their needs and problems. Both the attitude of the staff at the two offices and the way this was perceived by claimants seems to have been influenced by the fact that Unemployment Benefit was (and still is) a contributory benefit which was not means-tested, while Supplementary Benefit (which has now been replaced by Income Support) was non-contributory and therefore subject to a means test. This explains why the take-up rate of Unemployment Benefit was much higher than that for Supplementary Benefit; the former had less stigma attached to it, although having to claim either was considered shameful by many in Cauldmoss, especially by middle-aged and older men. It seemed that little had changed since the early 1970s when Marsden and Duff researched

attitudes towards the DHSS:

> These offices were said to have an atmosphere and procedures which were harsher and more stigmatising than those of the employment exchanges . . . .Some of the workless suggested that the delays in the office were a calculated deterrent to easy access. "It's harder than working" (Marsden and Duff 1975:129)

However, despite media criticism of the then newly introduced Housing Benefits Scheme, we heard no condemnation in Cauldmoss of the staff at the local Housing Benefits Office.

Those claiming Supplementary Benefit greatly disliked the visits made to their homes by DHSS assessment officers. Although some officers were thought to be fair, many were accused of being unsympathetic, and even malicious: "as if it's their **ain** money they're givin' ye!" Many claimants pointed out that benefit office staff are there to serve the public, not to harass them.

Images of Cauldmoss.

A few months after I moved to the village I went into a shop in the nearby town to buy a new watch. Noticing my English accent, the assistant asked me where I "stayed" (lived). I told her briefly about my work in Cauldmoss. "Oh" she laughed, "ye'll **need** a watch if ye're going to Cauldmoss!" This comment could be interpreted in various ways - it could imply that villagers are a well-organised lot who carefully coordinate their activities according to clock time. Alternatively, it could suggest that "normal" standards do not apply in Cauldmoss and one needs to take one's own time-measuring instrument when going there.

Knowing the image of Cauldmoss which is held in the surrounding area, and also to some extent in the village itself, I interpreted her comment in the second way. The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate, however, that in general time does in fact play a very important role in villagers' lives. I would suggest that overall, its inhabitants use time-markers to order their thoughts and their activities to the same extent as do those living in similar communities throughout Britain.

Cauldmoss is seen as a wild place up in the hills and villagers are characterised as breaking all the normal social conventions. I described in Chapter Two how villagers sometimes expressed sympathy for Wight and I, because we had been sent to a place like Cauldmoss; inhabitants enjoy the idea that the village is extraordinary in some way, even

if this involves seeing it as an unusually awful place. Telling people I met in the nearby town and villages that I was living in Cauldmoss never failed to cause surprise (usually horror) in them: "Not Cauldmoss!", or "Oh ma goad!"

The head-mistress of Cauldmoss primary school, who lives in the nearby town, admitted that she knew almost nothing about the village before going there although "you heard the stories about Cauldmoss, a wild place and what have you. The standing joke is at full-moon they all go mad". During the time we were there, one sign on an approach road to the village had "Hazzard Country" (taken from the American TV-series about a family of daredevil "hillbillies") daubed beneath "Cauldmoss", while someone had added "Enter at your own risk" to another "Cauldmoss" sign. This is a vivid illustration of the process whereby people "make community" through "boundary management"; "Much like horses dunging out the boundaries of their own territories, so people put down their social markers symbolically" (Cohen 1985: 27-28).

Villagers love to talk about the severity of the climate in Cauldmoss and the village's exposed position makes it more subject to the elements than the nearby town. For example, many informants described occasions when Cauldmoss has been cut off by snow (which sometimes falls in July, they claim) both facts marking it out as a place different from others. One needs to be tough to withstand not only the physical, but the traditional social environment of Cauldmoss. A few informants pointed to Cauldmoss' similarity to towns in the "Wild West" - this was an image which struck me early on, with villagers' tales of hard drinking and "big fights" in the pubs, and even in the streets (sometimes involving guns), and stories of "loose women" hanging around one of the bars. A stranger walking into one of the bars causes conversation to cease and every head to turn; ordering a drink involves answering the bartender's "casual" questions as to one's reason for being in the village, which is not a place at which those passing through usually choose to stop. The frontier-town image is reinforced by villagers' liking for American Country-and-Western music (a phenomenon found throughout Scotland and also in Ireland, which is probably due to this music's concern with the themes of poverty and heartache). Even the names of many of the younger women and girls of Cauldmoss were like those found, for example, in Texas: Jean-Ann, Wanda-Marie, Kelly-Rose, etc.

In fact, we were told that the source of this image actually lies in the days when Cauldmoss served as a focus attracting men from the mining settlements all around to its pubs, and to dances at weekends. Villagers tend to point out how much quieter the place is nowadays. I noted a somewhat ambivalent attitude on the part of many villagers in terms of their evaluation of lawless behaviour. On the one hand, they seemed to revel in the

village's reputation for communal deviancy, laughing at stories of fights and con-tricks. On the other hand, when such incidents involved members of their own family, or when they caused serious harm to others, they became unacceptable. Perhaps this is the same sort of double-standard as that which leads many inhabitants to condemn blacks or homosexuals as a whole, but to treat an individual black or gay person in a friendly way. There were some villagers, however, who felt all such unruly behaviour was wrong, and who were embarrassed by Cauldmoss' corporate image.

Whether Cauldmoss has a significantly higher level of crime than similar communities is difficult to say, given the fact that police statistics on reported crime are broken down to police divisions within each region, and Cauldmoss is part of a large area. My impression is that it is no worse than other villages; villagers did complain however that the crime situation had worsened since the two constables who were stationed in the village were moved out several years ago. It is interesting that several members of the "criminal element" in the village admitted to us that Cauldmoss is not as "hard" a place as various others they had experienced, such as another village in the area, a notorious scheme in a nearby town or parts of Edinburgh and London. Cauldmoss folk have a reputation for being "fly" (sly, smart); even one of the most "responsible" lads in the youth club laughed as he described the way he and his mates had "jumped" a taxi without paying - the taxi-driver was stupid not to have asked for the money **before** driving them to Cauldmoss, he said.

I indicated in Chapter Two the contribution mining has made to villagers' sense of identity. The numerous "bings" (slag heaps) surrounding Cauldmoss serve as a constant reminder of the village's past, and older inhabitants in particular make frequent reference to it. One elderly woman, the wife of a miner commented: 'We miners were nothin' in they days" demonstrating the extent to which sections of the population saw themselves as part of an occupational community. Cauldmoss folk claim that the village was renowned for hard-working miners, so much so that at the turn of the century, they claim, advertisements as far afield as Canada read "Miners wanted - only Cauldmoss men need apply". The fact that Labour majorities are assured in Cauldmoss, (as in most communities in Scotland) is attributed to it being "a guid mining village", although, as I said, little sense of solidarity with miners elsewhere seems to remain. Older inhabitants often told us that within Cauldmoss itself, the hardships associated with being a miner (or a miner's wife or child) were offset by individuals' willingness to help one another out, for example, by sharing food or organising social events. They tended to condemn the "modern generation", "the young yins" who "dinnae' care at a'" about the village's past and expect everything to be done for them; even entertainment has to be served up to them.

Although we found that young people mentioned mining much less often than their elders, many of them, like their fathers and grandfathers who were miners, seemed to appreciate the advantages of living in the countryside (the quiet, the fresh air, etc.). For these inhabitants an important image was that of Cauldmoss as a wee country village. While most of those who used Cauldmoss' surroundings were simply interested in walking or doing "a spot of fishing" for example, a few went poaching, a traditional activity in mining villages (and necessary in the past to help support one's large family). This fact, together with the occasional exploitation of other natural - although not **freely** available - resources, such as coal and wood, served to reinforce Cauldmoss' lawless image.

Even those who do not enjoy living in Cauldmoss, while they emphasise its awfulness, do so to an extent which endowes the village with special status as compared to other places. It was called, for example, "the arsehole of Scotland" and described to us as "the worst place in the world", an out-of-the-way place where there was nowhere to go and nothing to do, the most popular activity being gossiping. (Hastrup points out that those doing fieldwork within their "own" society should be aware that their informants, having identified the ethnographer as "a representative of the urbanized elite" are thus likely to see themselves "as a kind of 'backwater' population" (Hastrup 1987: 103). In my case, I did not have the impression that any of these representations of Cauldmoss were a result of villagers' comparison of their situation with that of any **particular** group(s) outside the village - rather it was a case of "us" (the inhabitants) versus "them" (the rest of the world - although see the discussion of "problem cases" below). This us-and-them distinction is one both Hastrup and Hoggart (1958: Chapter Three) pinpoints and I will return to it later. There were occasions however, as I suggested in Chapter Two, when recognition of our Englishness sparked off discussion of the differences between customs in England and Scotland as a whole, or in Cauldmoss in particular.

While many of those living near Cauldmoss laugh at its wild reputation, the image has had detrimental effects in terms of residents finding work outside the village. A worker in the local Jobcentre told us that employers in the town cite reports in the local paper of Cauldmoss folk being involved in breaches of the peace and other offences, in support of their unwillingness to take on villagers. The latters' reputation for being "fly" is not one that recommends them to a prospective employer. The same official mentioned one particular employer who refused to see an applicant from Cauldmoss, even before he had looked at the applicant's name or qualifications. Employers do, however, also have more objective reasons for preferring applicants who live nearer to, or within, the town itself; in bad weather villagers may not be able to reach work. Even in normal conditions, the bus service to the town is not ideal.

Outsiders tend to view villagers as being "all of a piece", and this collective identity is reinforced within the community itself by villagers' frequent claims that everyone there is related to everyone else (or, some said, this applies to at least 60% of the population). The extent to which Cauldmoss is inter-knit is demonstrated when villagers warn that each individual has to be careful what s/he says about any other villager in case the person under discussion turns out to be related to whom s/he is talking.

Villagers' image of Cauldmoss as being almost one big happy family has been revised over recent years because of the rising numbers of incomers moving to the village. Natives frequently compare how Cauldmoss used to be - a prosperous educational and entertainment centre for local villages, which even attracted holiday visitors - with its current position as a run-down "dumping ground" for the local council. As I shall explain when I describe "Groups and Institutions" in Cauldmoss below, there are three classes of incomers - those who marry natives, those who move into private houses in Cauldmoss and those who are placed there by the council. It is the last two groups who natives see as threatening the integrity of the community. In fact the irony of the situation is that the level of agreement reached among established villagers in their criticism of these groups means that these incomers act as a unifying, rather than as a divisive, force.

There were occasions when this sort of internal division tended to be temporarily suspended - Hogmanay and Gala Day being the two clearest examples. I shall describe these events in more detail in following chapters. For now, I would like to point to the way in which they seemed to serve as celebrations of the "relatedness" of all villagers to one another, emphasising the village's cohesiveness, especially in reference to those living elsewhere. Hogmanay is by tradition a time when everyone (friend and stranger alike) is welcomed into one's house, just as real relations are. Although we found that it is very much a family affair, this ethos does pertain in practice, with kind words and hospitality being offered even to those for whom an individual usually has little sympathy. Gala Day is described as a day "fer the kids" of Cauldmoss and all are encouraged to take part, regardless of whether they are natives or incomers.

A great deal of care and attention is focussed on children in Cauldmoss. The impression I got during Gala Days was that, as the "wee yins" process in a long column down the main street, they are very much seen as **Cauldmoss'** children. All the mothers standing near share in an individual mother's pride as she watches her small daughter march by elaborately dressed as a fairy or a flower-girl.

Convention in the community.

Before leaving a discussion of Cauldmoss' identity as a community and moving on to look in detail at the different groups which exist **within** this community, I would like to consider the ways in which individuals in Cauldmoss acquire "the symbols which equip them to be social", which Cohen equates with "culture" (Cohen 1985: 16). By what means do villagers learn, if not (if we accept Cohen's argument) exactly how to **interpret** such symbols, then (at least) how to recognise them as meaningful? As I suggested earlier, this is a community which is marked by conservatism, by the tendency to preserve the importance of particular symbols. In addition what I have said about the strong sense of collective identity among most villagers indicates that high value is placed on conformity. The desire to preserve established values and the "glorification" of the village's past is, of course, of relevance to an understanding of the meaning time has for villagers, and these are issues to which I shall return in the following chapters.

From what I have said so far, the family emerges as a crucially important vehicle for the transmission of values in the village, as indeed it is throughout British society. In the mid-1960s Klein argued that norms and expectations were changing more slowly in northern areas of Britain than they were in the South (1965: 168); I would suggest that the extent of conservatism may be correlated with that of childrens' deference towards their parents. Cauldmoss appears to be typical of communities in Scotland and the North of England in so far as its inhabitants demonstrate a high level of regard for their parents. More than this, just as the children are in some circumstances seen as belonging to the community as a whole (rather than simply to their parents) so villagers tend to accept collective responsibility for, and to show respect towards the community's "old folk".

Kin (a term used in Scotland to refer to both consanguines and affines) play an important part in villagers' lives. Relatives frequently lived near to one another and give each other various forms of help: in finding a job, for example, giving financial and moral support, and assisting with domestic work. Children are encouraged to form strong links with their relatives and these bonds discourage young people from leaving the village in search of work. The ethos of the community is very much family-based and parents provide clear role models for their offspring, especially in terms of gender-specific behaviour, which is central to individuals' sense of identity. Villagers admire small girls dressed in elaborate "feminine" clothes and behaving in stereotypically feminine ways, and are encouragingly indulgent of dynamic little boys with large apetites and domineering personalities.

Children learn to take their elders' ideas seriously, and their parents' commitment to their own role as homemakers and parents produces daughters ambitious to become wives and mothers, and sons whose sense of purpose in life is very much tied to becoming a worker, husband and father. In the past, sons especially were able to find work in the same industry, if not the same firm, as their fathers, while even now, daughters in particular aim to remain part of their mothers' circle after they are married. Villagers frequently point to characteristics (psychological as well as physical) which individuals have inherited from their relatives.

The transfer of values is demonstrated particularly well in those who continue a family tradition of involvement in particular activities, ranging from crime to the church. Organisations such as the Masons and the Orange Lodge, which are themselves based on a concept of loyalty like that found within the family (which partly explains their popularity in such communities), reinforce the tendency towards conformity and conservatism. Because for many adults so much of their identity depends on their putative membership of a collective core of "real" villagers, it is almost inevitable that parents will instill in their children an inclination to reject the ways of those who are not part of this group. The children of these "core" villagers tend to make friends with the children of other "core" families rather than with those from the "problem cases" streets. Parents are concerned to ensure that their children are in "good company" and do not fall in with a "bad lot"; wanting to stay "close" to their parents in both a physical and perceptual sense means that children as they grow up often have little direct experience of alternative value systems and when they do encounter them they tend, like their parents, to either show little interest in such "funny" behaviour or beliefs or to condemn and/or ridicule them. I shall return to this issue below.

The homogeneity of Cauldmoss culture is perhaps less marked than it was in the days before villagers had to travel to the surrounding towns to work, and before more middle-class "strangers" began to buy up the better properties in the village. One particularly open-minded informant told me that the decision to make the school in Cauldmoss a primary school only so that village children had to travel to the local town for their secondary education, was a good one; it meant they they came into contact with "a wider range of people". Some Cauldmoss children we knew did have friends outwith the village and parents sometimes blamed these outside influences for any behaviour on the part of their children which challenged norms in Cauldmoss, such as the "glue-sniffing" (there was concern in the village about this craze while we were there, although we saw no evidence that it was happening in Cauldmoss).

This informant also made the point, however, that youngsters from Cauldmoss stick together at the secondary school and that, for villagers, the friends they make at this time tend to be those that surround them all through their lives. When trying to work out another villager's age, informants frequently base their calculation on which class that person had been in "at the school"; it seems that many villagers see the community in terms of a set of cohorts based on different "years" at school. Villagers enjoy "poring over" old school photographs, discussing the links between particular individuals in them and reminiscing about incidents in which these individuals have been involved, both at that time and in later life. Such photographs symbolise villagers' position within the "establishment" of Cauldmoss, and incomers' absence from them underlines their lack of a personal history in the eyes of indigenes. (See also Chapter Six.)

In addition to her parents, therefore, an indivudual's peer group serves as another main source of values. As I suggested in Chapter Two, teenagers hang around together, usually in single sex groups, on the streets or in the community centre. Once a group has left school, its members usually talk amongst themselves about leaving Cauldmoss, since staying there means having little chance of getting work. However, few actually leave, and those who do often return to the village. The extent to which individuals acquire a sense of commitment to Cauldmoss and its values is revealed in a comment we heard several times - "There's just somethin' aboot Cauldmoss . . . ye cannae' get away from it, or if ye do, it'll pull ye back". It seems that even villagers themselves are impressed and a little mystified by the power of the socialising forces operating in Cauldmoss. (Our neighbours, the "outcasts" I described, explained Cauldmoss' hold over its sons and daughters in terms of the village's situation at the meeting place of various ley-lines. Even those outwith mainstream village life are keen to emphasise Cauldmoss's uniqueness it seems).

Adult men tend to meet up with members of their peer group in the pub, although they are less likely to associate with a fixed circle of friends than are women. This is due to the fact that men meet predominantly in a public place, whereas women usually gather in one another's houses. When men who are without work can no longer afford to frequent bars, they often become isolated from their friends. I have said that in this community the image of themselves which men seek to manifest has various facets - worker, husband, father. It is clear, however, that the sphere in which a man is believed to "come into his own" is the public arena, just as it is in the private world of the home that a woman can expect to find the symbols that have most meaning for her, and which most effectively embody her sense of identity. This fact partly explains why unemployment is such a devastating experience for so many men in Cauldmoss.

If we think of the facets of a man's identity in terms of a set of masks (a concept used by Goffman, 1982) then when he loses his job, the masks he wears at home, those of husband and father, tend to slip. Men seem to be even more unnerved by the idea of having to appear in public without their mask of worker and wage earner (a condition which would be clearly signalled by their failure to buy drinks). Some worried to such an extent about this loss of face that they preferred not to go out at all. It is true that in a close-knit community like that of the village, when he is with his parents or siblings, he can look through the eyes of a son, or a brother. When he attends lodge meetings he can don his masonic costume (literally). But when he loses his most important masks, to some extent he becomes something of an invisible man, both to himself and to others.

Anthony Cohen points out that the Chicago School promulgated the notion that urban society was more complex than rural society, because, although individuals in both play a range of specialised roles, in small-scale "face-to-face" societies, this fragmentation of the individual is tempered by members' ability to "interact with each other as whole persons" (op. cit: 29). I would suggest that in a sense, this "whole personality" may be characterised as being yet another role because, as will become clear when I deal with kinship in Chapter Six, villagers tend to see individuals as representatives of their family, and as inheritors of family characteristics. This is not to claim, however, that they have no appreciation whatsoever of one another as unique persons.

In fact, Cohen goes on to say that it is a mistake to believe that in small-scale societies "people's knowledge of 'the person' **overrides** their perception of the distinctive activities (or 'roles') in which the person is engaged" (idib: 29). In such communities, life is actually **more** complicated because, as Gluckman (1962) puts it, relations are multi-stranded or "multiplex"; sophisticated strategies are required if an individual, acting according to a particular role, is to deal effectively with individuals with whom he/she relates in various other ways under different circumstances. In this sort of situation Cohen claims, a symbolic means of differentiating roles tends to emerge "perhaps residing in terminology, in mode of address, or in apparel. . . although it may be down-to-earth, its importance must not be underestimated, for the effective display of these symbolic markers provides much of the foundation of social order."(ibid: 30). Another means of distinguishing one's different activities, is to assign each of them to clearly marked periods of time, as I shall try to show in the chapters which follow.

In terms of the distinction between activities, another traditional aspect of small-scale rural societies is occupational pluralism (see, for example, the papers in the collection edited by Shanin [1971], and Wadel's work [1969]). I argued in Chapter Three that this

tended to be associated with the lack of a clear boundary between work and non-work activities. In Cauldmoss, however, although some villagers continue to combine various different jobs (notably those working "on-the-side"), the majority of the workforce have one job only: "regular employment". For men especially, this remains a prerequisite for one's performance as a fully adult member of the community.

Most gossiping takes place within groups of friends, as well as within the family. Both men and women exchange such information, even though both condemn well-known gossips, who are usually women. (Men who are seen as too free with their comments are re-classified as women; they are called an "auld sweetie-wife" or simply "auld wifie". The former refers to women in such communities who sold sweets and so knew everyone in the village, and it is interesting that one of the most reknowned gossips in the village is an elderly woman who used to run a shop, where, we were told, she picked up and disseminated local news.)

"Gossip" is a term usually taken to involve criticism, and indeed much of the talk in Cauldmoss is condemnatory. In this case, it is only acceptable to introduce discussion of a third party to whom one is closer (by kinship or friendship) than is the person with whom one is discussing the third person. While individuals do not tend to gossip about their close relatives, they will openly criticise them if they feel very strongly opposed to a relative's behaviour, or if they feel that such condemnation will persuade the person to change her/his ways. Just as work has become a classificatory category in opposition to non-work activities, and just as the notion of community is based on the distinction between "our" community and "others", so the "rule of complementary opposition" (to use Dumont's term [1980: 239]) seems to apply to the way in which behaviour is characterised in Cauldmoss. Often the criticism is implicit, being conveyed by the tone of voice, facial expression or gesture. On some occasions, the level of negativity with which someone's actions are viewed is heightened by contrasting such actions with those of others, people whose behaviour (again because of this contrast) is seen in a decidedly positive light. I found that a lot of the "positive" gossip that went on among friends took the form of expressions of sympathy for a villager who was bravely suffering the ill-effects of someone else's wrong-doing. As I suggested in Chapter Two, it is through such juxta-positioning that the boundaries and meaning of what is "good" and what is "bad" become clear.

The following passage from Klein summarises the situation I found in Cauldmoss with regard to gossip:

> In these conditions, people tend to reach consensus on norms and exert a consistent informal pressure on each other to conform. This is the way a tradition is perpetuated, relatively immune from change as long as the network remains intact. (Klein 1965: 128.)

Attitudes towards alternative value-systems.

Villagers engage with different value-systems found in the larger social units of which Cauldmoss forms a part either through their movement out of the village (to go to school or work, to attend meetings or on holiday, for example) or through the movement of these value systems into Cauldmoss through the church and school, or via the TV and radio, the written word or in the form of "incomers" (such as Wight and I). What concerns me here is how far these experiences reinforce traditional ideas in the community, or how far they encourage individuals to challenge the existing ways of seeing or doing things.

On the whole, it seems that, once again, opposition comes into play; villagers tend to select experiences which are in line with what they already know, and when they do meet different worldviews, tend to acknowledge them only in so far as the differences perceived throw their existing ideas into higher relief. Of course there are exceptions to this; I occasionally met individuals in Cauldmoss who had a real desire to "broaden their outlook" and to seriously consider new ideas. Such people were often regarded as "strange" by other villagers; as Hoggart points out: "The group seeks to conserve, and may impede an inclination in any of its members to make a change, to leave the group, to be different." (Hoggart 1958: 84)

It is important to qualify this interpretation however, by pointing out that some people in Cauldmoss who are not generally regarded as "perculiar" resent the pressure they feel under to be seen to be always acting in accordance with the norm. They sometimes expressed frustration at the rigidity of ideas in the village and some ever said they longed to do something "wild" that would shock their neighbours. (However, most of them continue to live responsible, respectable lives, reserving their "challenge" to the system for the times appointed by the system - nights out, Hogmanay, etc.). In response to a question in our second questionnaire about what they would do if they won the pools, a few even said they would buy a private (detached) house in the village or outside Cauldmoss in order "to have some privacy", or to be "where nobody bothers ye." On another occasion one old man told me that in Cauldmoss, he missed the "anonymity" he had experienced whilst living in London.

Despite the intolerance of villagers towards alternative value-systems, individual informants (especially those who articulated their frustration at the restrictions of life in a close-knit and conservative community) also sometimes voice the belief that "ye should take folk as ye find 'em", or "take folk as they come", rather than pre-judging people according to commonly held views. As they say: "There's good yins and bad yins wher'ever ye go." I found that villagers were often more than willing to accept individual members of "alien" groups whom they met face-to-face; the first two expressions I quoted above were even made on occasion by villagers explaining their friendliness towards Wight and I, despite their distrust of "the English" or "students" in general.

However, when considering such groups as a whole, they continue to subscribe to stereotypical views. For example, they prefer the established village shops to the one recently opened by a group of Pakistanis from Huddersfield (although the fact that the latter was cheaper has led many to change their habits, if not their views). The call to "take folk as ye find 'em" is often used to challenge stereotypical views of the members of particular families in the village. Within the community itself, there are socially acceptable forms of "weirdness", which are seen as distinct from the strangeness of other value systems, and individuals who are "well-liked" despite general agreement that aspects of their behaviour are unacceptable. In Cauldmoss, these include some members of the "bad lot", or the small number of homosexuals in the village. However, they are tolerated only as long as "they don't touch me or mine".

What of the mass media as a source of values in Cauldmoss? In a sense, the media serves as a resource of gossip in that the latest developments in popular soap-operas, and the relationships between characters in films seen on television or in videos, are discussed in the same way as are events in the village. It appears that films and books presenting lifestyles very different from the norm tend to be popular with "the masses", as with stories about the care-free rich during the 1930s, or tales of "roughing-it" in the affluent sixties. It is clear that villagers enjoy experiencing a wide range of images and fantasise about having the life of luxury presented in some serials.

However, despite their general rejection of values and lifestyles clearly different from their own, they tend to engage with the emotional responses of media characters which are similar to their own - occasions when the characters presented appear to share their priorites and concerns. The strong emphasis laid on family loyalty among the Carringtons of "Dynasty" and the Ewings of "Dallas" explains their appeal, for example. Knowledge of such programmes and films is a form of currency which one can "spend" to establish one's

legitimacy in the community. This helps to explain the horror with which the gang of girls I described in Chapter Two reacted to my admission that Wight and I did not have a television. Almost every house has a colour set, and in 1985, approximately half of our questionnaire sample owned a video player.

In most houses the television forms a backdrop to life, being on almost continually, especially in the evenings, although this is less true of older inhabitants. However, only certain programmes are watched with much attention. Documentaries and political news programmes are not of interest for most viewers in Cauldmoss, unless their subject is sensational in some way (crime, sexuality, dramatic illness, for example). There is little concern, even among the unemployed, for programmes analysing British economic decline or the experience of the unemployed.

Scottish Independent TV is the most popular channel, followed by BBC1. BBC2 tends to be watched mainly for its sport. Several elderly women told me how much they enjoy sitting up watching the snooker, for example. Channel 4 is often dismissed as showing only a "load o' rubbish". Twenty years ago, Jephcott, in her study of young people in Scotland, noted that television was seen as a source of entertainment, rather than education (Jephcott 1967: 59). This is still very much the case in Cauldmoss among all age groups. Villagers even seem to see quiz show (which are very popular) as an opportunity to test what one already knows, rather than as a chance to find out new things.

The TV is often seen as a way of keeping the children occupied, especially in the winter, when lack of space indoors, and poor heating in the upstairs rooms, keeps all the members of the household in the living room. The programmes that are most popular with children seemed to be those that reinforce the value system they experience in their everyday lives, especially in terms of gender divisions. While boys prefer the action-packed do-gooding of "The A Team", with their technological wizardry, girls tend to be more interested in the gentler adventures of "My little Pony". The advertisements are frequently watched with interest by both adults and children alike and the pressure to consume which they embody is most obvious in the case of those featuring children's toys.

Women seem especially prey to the persuasiveness of advertisements (even though they usually deny it), not only those on TV, but also those in the many magazines ("books") they read. That the latter are another form of common "currency" is demonstrated by the frequent practice of swapping such magazines (popular among these are the "True Romance" type, as well as publications such as **Cosmopolitan, Woman's Realm** and **Woman's Own**. Some men read specialist magazines such as these aimed at caged-bird or

angling enthusiasts. Others - and sometimes their wives - read pornographic magazines, which are jokingly referred to as "scuddie [nude] books". Both sexes are avid readers of tabloid newspapers, although a few villagers (mainly those in private houses) read "serious papers". Nearly all the adults in Cauldmoss read the weekly local paper produced in a nearby town. More than the TV, the newspapers serve as a source of information for villagers (see Jephcott ibid: 61), although the type of papers they read tends to be those which do not challenge their way of thinking, or stimulate new ideas. (The "personalisation", "fragmentation" and "opinionation" Hoggart identified in popular writing during the 1940s and fifties, are still evident in such papers [Hoggart op. cit: chapters six and seven])

While some information about world events is presented, the items villagers discuss among themselves tend to be reports of particularly gruesome murders, or the latest adventures of the Royal Family (who are regarded with affection by many, though not all). For example, I noticed on more than one occasion that individuals, when talking about such events, use phrases or whole sentences (always short and easy to remember) which had appeared in the paper, without saying that is where they had seen this viewpoint or got this information. One aspect of the tabloid papers which attracts villagers is their bingo games which many people in Cauldmoss play every day. Similar competitions were run by cigarette manufacturers during our time in Cauldmoss, and these were also very popular.

There are many similarities between the **Sunday Post** which is read by many villagers and the local weekly newspaper; both celebrate Scottish culture, tradition and the family. More than the other media I have described, these two publications are seen as sources of information by villagers, some of whom write to "The Judge" in the **Sunday Post** for advice about legal matters. They need the local paper to find out about the situation in regard to likely cutbacks or closures at local firms, or about job vacancies. They also make use of its "For Sale" pages, where the popularity of the "Under a Tenner" column reflects the depressed state of the local economy (as do the number of "bargain shops" in the town's highstreet, a phenomenon also noted by the Goftons in their study of "Giro City" [1984]). The local newspaper also provides objective information on the outcome of other villagers' court appearances, which is a common talking-point.

Villagers read newspapers and magazines more often than they do books. Although very young children are encouraged to "look at" books, we saw very few older children reading at home (either text books or other sorts of literature). The headmistress of the primary school complained that because the TV is always on, "they've no time to read now". When adults do read books, there is a clear distinction between the type read by women

(romantic fiction, sometimes very "steamy" tales, especially historical romances) and those read by men (adventure stories; the "sex-and-violence" novels referred to by Hoggart [op. cit: 256]; books about the "wild West", etc.). During my fieldwork there was some excitement among a number of informants when they discovered that Cauldmoss had been mentioned in a historical romance by Jessica Stirling. The fact that she refers to Cauldmoss only to describe it as a source of blackleg labour during a period of strikes among miners in nineteenth century Ayrshire, is not something which bothered my informants very much. The important thing was that Cauldmoss had been recognised as special in some way, as being unique.

Informants have a clear penchant for "horror stories", whether in the form of newspaper reports, novels, or the descriptions of illness, death or hauntings provided by other villagers, and this fascination is reflected in their choice of films. The cost of travelling to the nearest cinema and the price of tickets discourages many from seeing films there, but they compensate for this by watching videos at home. If they do not have a player, they visit friends or relatives who do have one for an evening's entertainment. Video films can be hired either from the town, from a small stock in one of the village shops, or from the ice-cream van. This last can supply poor quality "pirate" copies and even "blue movies".

The majority of villagers have little knowledge of, or interest in, what Bourdieu (1984) calls "culture" (as defined by the aesthetic tastes of the dominant classes). On one occasion one of my friends from the scheme did ask if I could get her tickets to see Rudolf Nureyev dance in the Edinburgh Festival (unfortunately all performances were sold out) but this was not typical. Her husband and friends laughed good-humouredly at the idea of watching him "perform" and made references to "cod pieces" and "pansies". The Festival and Fringe, one of the largest "cultural" events in the world, takes place each year thirty miles from Cauldmoss (and advertisements for events sometimes appear in the papers villagers read), but for most villagers, it has nothing to offer. Villagers very occasionally go to see shows in the local town such as an annual "Fiddlers' Rally", and at Christmas trips are organised to Edinburgh or Glasgow to see well-known TV stars in pantomine. Interest in more high-brow events tends to be found only among the more middle-class of the owner-occupiers in Cauldmoss.

Groups and institutions.

Social class.

In stressing the homogeneity existing in the community of Cauldmoss, I have based my comments on the high degree to which the same basic values and norms are held by the large majority of villagers - the group I call "nice families" below. However, there are smaller groups within Cauldmoss who, while also sharing some of these norms and values, display certain types of behaviour and concerns specific to themselves, which sets them apart to some extent from "core" inhabitants. While this calls into question the degree to which the community as a whole can truly be described as "homogeneous", a great deal of overlap still exists amongst all the various groups. In this section, I will concentrate on the differences between types of villagers, drawing attention to the ways in which these distinctions tie in with divisions in the wider society.

The inhabitants of Cauldmoss may be grouped according to various sets of criteria, both emic and etic. In the section on jobs above I made use of classifications adopted by the Census to distinguish sets of villagers according to their economic status, to the nature of the work they did, or to the welfare benefits they received. The Census also describes the Cauldmoss population in terms of the social class of the head of each household, based on his/her present or previous occupation:

Table 9: Social Classes in Cauldmoss. (1981 Census)

28.0%	Households headed by skilled manual workers (S.C. III M)
10.5%	Households headed by unskilled workers (S.C. V)
10.5%	Households headed by intermediate workers (SC. II)
6.0%	Households headed by partly skilled workers (S.C. IV)
3.0%	Households headed by skilled non-manual workers (S.C. III N)
3.0%	Households headed by professional workers (S.C. I)
3.0%	Households headed by members of the armed forces and those who inadequately described their occupation.
36.0%	Households headed by retired, or never economically active, persons.

This breakdown substiantiates my description of the majority of families in Cauldmoss as "working-class". However, it is clear that villagers do not think in terms of the different "socio-economic groups" or " social classes" used in the Census, nor in general, do they tend

to treat occupational type on its own as significant. A few villagers did use the expressions "working-" or "middle-" or "upper-class," and had clear ideas of the social structure of British society as a whole, often centred on the notion of the exploitation of the working-class. One established Cauldmoss couple, living on the scheme, were particularly articulate. The husband told us that he believes "the workin'" class in Britain are cutting their own throats" by accepting redundancies and doing the next generation out of jobs. His wife recalled that when villagers moved from their "but-'n'-bens" (two-roomed mining cottages, alternatively known as "a room-and-kitchen") into houses on the scheme in the 1940s and fifties, they joked about becoming "middle-class". Her comments went on to demonstrate that, had these villagers seriously seen themselves as moving up a class, they would have been branded as "getting high and mighty".

Bourdieu refers to the working-class's acceptance of a "'natural' difference" between themselves and the "bourgeoisie", which probably describes the attitude of most villagers towards the middle-class in general. However, I disagree with his claim that class differences within a particular community "may pass unnoticed and are in any case very well tolerated" (Bourdieu 1984: 381); this describes the attitude of only a minority of the working-class inhabitants of Cauldmoss.

The majority of villagers however do not use the term "class". Moreover, when we asked a rather clumsy question during interviews - whether they saw other villagers in terms of belonging to "different groups" - many found it difficult to understand what we were asking, and/or difficult to answer. We gradually discovered however, that they do make clear distinctions between different "types" of villagers.

Bourdieu points out that when describing their own community, individuals "do not agree either on the number of divisions they make within the group in question, or on the limits of the 'strata' and the criteria used to define them" (ibid: 473). This, he says, "is not simply due to the fuzziness inherent in all practical logics. It is also because people's image of the classification is a function of their position within it" (ibid.). His analysis of the "practical logic" involved in classification is one which describes the situation in Cauldmoss very accurately:

> The practical mastery of classification has nothing in common with the reflexive mastery that is required in order to construct a taxonomy that is simultaneously coherent and adequate to social reality. The practical "science" of position in social space is the competence presupposed by the art of behaving *comme il faut* with persons and things that have a given "class" ("smart" or "unsmart"), finding the right distance, by a sort of practical calculation; neither too close ("getting familiar") nor too far ("being distant"), playing with objective distance by emphasizing it (being "aloof", "stand-offish") or symbolically denying it (being "approachable",

"hobnobbing"). It in no way implies the capacity to situate oneself explicitly in the classification (as so many surveys on social class ask people to do), still less to describe this classification in any systematic way and state its principles (Bourdieu ibid: 472).

As I suggested earlier, in Cauldmoss one's "identity" is a construct comprised of various images, the significance of which derives from the perceived opposition between the groups to which one belongs and other groups. The characteristics on which one focusses, the referents one selects, decide where one sees the boundary between groups, whether the boundary distinguishes sub-communities, communities, or entire societies from one another. Anthony Cohen (1985) refers to Evans-Pritchard's description of segmentation among the Nuer to illustrate this principle, although the latter is an example of a formal system of alliances rather than of the more subjective "classification" that operates within communities such as Cauldmoss.

Although it is an issue seldom discussed in abstract terms, it is clear that where individuals and families see themselves and other families in the "scheme of things" in Cauldmoss, depends on their situation *vis-a-vis* other villagers. There is no one objective and fixed scheme, but rather a collection of subjective patterns, and, within each pattern, significant boundaries can change as the situation of the family itself changes. As Bourdieu's (1977) discussion of *habitus* suggests, a sense of one's own and other's "place" is based on both material and non-material factors.

In Cauldmoss, a combination of characteristics tend to be used in categorising people. The "economic" factors relevant here include type of accommodation, income level, and sometimes the kind of job a person does. Significant "moral attributes" include place of birth; attitude towards neighbours, family and the community in general; attitudes towards work (including housework); leisure activities, including church attendance; ideas about money and its uses (for example spending on alcohol, clothes, etc.); level of education. Obviously these elements are very much interrelated. Since the majority of villagers share much the same lifestyle and values (the same habitus), I intend to describe the pattern of social groupings in Cauldmoss from the point of view of those occupying this "middle-ground".

Before looking at this categorisation, I will conclude my description of the extent to which villagers make reference to the wider "class" system. As I suggested, it tends to be the more articulate villagers, and/or those who had lived outside Cauldmoss who use "class" terms. The new minister, for example, who had been a miner before taking a degree in divinity and who was also a Labour councillor, talked to us at length about his views on the changing social structure of Britain, and also referred to Runciman's work on relative

deprivation. On another occasion, a woman (who was born in the village but had travelled all over the world with her husband who worked for a large oil and chemicals firm, and who now lived in one of the smartest of the "new" bungalows) told us that **she** thought Cauldmoss was an "awfie untypical wee place". This is because it is "**all** working-class", although she saw the working-class as being divided into two groups - those who have worked hard all their lives and those who have never worked and do not want to work. From this and other conversations I had with her, it was clear that she saw herself as belonging to the working-class, and that she legitimated the material success which her family enjoyed by seeing it as a result of a lifetime of hard work.

Here was an example of someone whose lifestyle had changed as her experience of the world outside Cauldmoss developed, but who still felt it necessary to stress her allegiance to the group; the fact that she believed all the village's inhabitants belonged to one class reinforces my earlier claims as to the importance of conformity in Cauldmoss. Her distinction between the hard-working and the idle working-class corresponds to a more general differentiation informants make between "nice folk" and "the bad lot", a contrast which other writers have characterised as that between "the respectable" and "the rough" (For example, Martin 1981: 68; Marsden 1976). From the point of view of many of those living on the scheme however, this particular informant, because of her "flashy" house and her extensive involvement in the (extremely respectable) Rural Institute, the Women's Guild, and the Bowling Club, is one of the "snobs". This is a term she herself used to describe those villagers who were like her in terms of material circumstances, but who differed from her in that they made no effort to take part in activities in the community.

This example reveals the intricacies of such classificatory systems and the way in which the factors I listed are weighted differently by different villagers producing various models of the social structure, each of which may be peculiar to its owner, but among which there is some degree of overlap.

In terms of the village as a whole, those informants who do not use class terms sometimes talk about "ordinary working people", "the working man", or "ordinary folk", not only to describe the inhabitants of Cauldmoss as a whole, but also in reference to the mass of the population in Britain. On this larger scale, such a description has meaning in relation to another broad categorisation of people - that encompassing the rich and powerful and epitomised by Tory members of parliament from southern England (some informants refer to them as "the haves" and to themselves, and other "ordinary folk", as the "have-nots"). This "us-and-them" approach is one found in many of the newspapers villagers read,

which present stories about the good fortune or tribulations of "ordinary people" alongside reports of the "exploits" of the privileged few (excluding Tory M.P.s in the case of most of the most popular papers). The fact that many papers support the Conservatives is not one which I heard villagers discussing, and this accords with the general lack of interest in politics which I encountered in Cauldmoss. Such papers are also well known for the distinction they make between the "honest" worker (compare Orwell's eulogy on the "decent working man"[1962: 131)]which Beatrix Campbell [1984] so eloquently condemns) and the "scroungers" or "fiddlers " who give the working-class a bad name.

More commonly, the inhabitants of Cauldmoss tend to divide the community into three categories, or "ideal types" (to use Weber's term): "the snobs", "the nice folk", and "the bad element". Although villagers rarely use the word "respectable", when they do it is clear that the vast majority see themselves as "respectable" families, while the "bad lot" lack respectability, and the snobs are overly-respectable. While each household in the village demonstrates a unique combination of the types of classificatory attributes I listed earlier, it is possible to characterise each of these three types.

Our first questionnaire indicated that among council house dwellers in Cauldmoss 40% were incomers, although we found that the majority of these were in fact individuals married to local people, usually "nice folk". The outsider status of those who had "married onto" a Cauldmoss family was much less marked than in the case of the members of families who moved into the village and had no kin there. However, villagers often told us that, even after 60 years of living in Cauldmoss as the spouse of an indigene, they were still not "accepted" on the same basis as "real" villagers.

Among owner-occupiers (a quarter of households in Cauldmoss), less than 40% of our respondents were native to Cauldmoss, and a substantial proportion of private houses were occupied by couples who had no previous links with the village but were attracted to Cauldmoss by the low house prices and the rural location. As I mentioned earlier, like the "problem cases", these incomers are also believed to threaten the integrity of the community by holding themselves aloof from those living on the scheme and by not joining in local activities. This group epitomises the "snobs". In fact, the coolness seems to come from both sides; in his study of Suffolk farm workers, Newby describes how often an old occupational community becomes an "encapsulated community . . . a village within a village, suspicious of and resistant to any intimate social contact with the commuters. . . who now comprise a. . . proportion of the population" (Newby 1979: 166). The fact that most of the "problem cases" live on certain streets, while the private houses are grouped outside the scheme, means that these two groups tend to form two distinct sub-communities.

More accurately, the owner-occupiers have formed themselves into several small colonies, each of which is situated on one of the approach roads into the village.

The "bad lot".

From the point of view of the "nice" majority, the archetypal "bad" family or individual is one of the incomer "problem cases". These individuals as a body are often referred to locally as "the unmarried mothers" or "the battered wives", although they include a variety of "types", including single parents and two parent households, ex-offenders, alcoholics, etc. As I said, villagers vehemently condemn what they see as the council's policy of "dumping" such people in Cauldmoss, but a housing official explained to us that if an empty house is turned down by individuals on the housing waiting list three times in a row, then it passes into the jurisdiction of the Homeless Persons Officer. Villagers claim, however, that the council deliberately fails to keep certain streets in good repair, and this discourages locals from moving there. Marilyn Strathern's description of the attitude of "real villagers" in Elmdon towards private and public housing in the village mirrors that found in Cauldmoss in regard to council housing in particular:

> People recall in which cottage they were born, not to establish occupancy rights but rather to underline their being 'Elmdon'. As an apparently undifferentiated body 'villagers' try to assert rights over village houses as a common stock. Individual families have in any case moved around between various dwellings. The rights being stated are over the potential availability of such houses for future occupation. (Strathern 1981: 161)

A "problem" incomer is seen as "quite content to live on benefits" and as having no intention whatsoever of working. S/he steals, fiddles or scrounges and runs up debts wherever possible, and spends her/his money on gambling or drinking, so that her/his children are deprived of necessities. I often talked to villagers from the main body of the scheme as they walked along our road and seeing the child of one such couple, my informant was likely to point out what a shame it was that such a "bright wee thing" has the parents she has: "It's no' right!". Both the parents and children in this case were shabbily dressed (it offended other villagers to see children in ill-fitting shoes and clothes), and neither they nor their house were clean, while the garden was overgrown and full of rubbish.

However, not all of the bad element are incomers; there are a few indigenous families (especially their teenage sons) who have a reputation for "thieving" and/or violence,

although they do not tend to be accused of the worst sins - lack of cleanliness or neglecting their children. The distinction between "locals" and "incomers" or "strangers" is an especially important one for the indigenous population, as one would expect in a group which lays so much stress on kinship, and despite their transgressions, such individuals still seem to be regarded as "one o' us" - as though they are the black sheep in the extended family of "real Cauldmoss folk".

While there are a small number of households who do indeed seem to seriously challenge various fundamental norms in Cauldmoss, and some who infringe them to a lesser extent, it must be borne in mind that many "bad" households see themselves as wrongly accused, and feel they are "just as good as anybody else". The labels they use in categorising those "above" them are the same as those used by "nice folk": they describe others as "stuck-up", "high and mighty" or as thinking that "they're better than everybody else". The lower down the social scale one is, the larger the group of "snobs" one encounters.

However, they recognise their position as something of outcasts in the community as a whole, and relationships between those "problem" households living on our particular street are often close and even encompass those families of "real" villagers who still live on the street. Despite the fact that these indigenes frequently complain about their dirty, scrounging neighbours, the ethic of good neighbourliness prevails and they find themselves lending advice, food, cigarettes, tools,and even cash on occasion. Such "loans" are not always repaid, but the more established residents of our street are compensated by being offered the chance to buy already suspiciously "cheap" items such as gold and jewellry, and sometimes their "problem" neighbours' household possessions, at reduced prices.

Within the main scheme different streets and squares are seen as "nice, quiet" places to live, or as less desirable, and the presence of three or four "bad families "on a street tends to discourage villagers from moving there, especially into houses next to these households. One's house has great symbolic importance in Cauldmoss. The degree of tidiness outside, and warmth, cleanliness and affluence (within appropriate limits) inside the house signify the extent to which the occupiers "care", not simply about the state of their house, but about all aspects of their life. The worst indictment is to say of someone that "she just disnae' care at a'!" One's willingness to welcome people into one's home, and to visit the homes of others, indicates the level of one's concern to be an involved member of the community, with all that this entails.

Sometimes however women told me, "Ah don't really hold with a' this poppin' in an' oot

o' other folks' hooses a' the time"; they valued their privacy - "Being able to think the hoose is my **ain** ". However, most of those who made this sort of comment had a fairly large circle of friends and relatives whom they were genuinely pleased to see when they called, and who they often visited. During such visits, these villagers, even though they said they resented "a' the gossip in the place", preferring to "keep myself tae myself", spent much time exchanging the latest village news or reiterating established views about neighbours. This often involved discussing the state of someone's house, for example: "I'm not sayin' my hoose is a palace, but their's is. . . well!" [unspeakably awful] a comment based on the knowledge that the speaker's own house was fairly well up to standard. "Clarty" [dirty] homes caused considerable offence, "It makes ye sick tae the stomach tae go in there!"

Apart from our own, particularly notorious, street, a villager's address and type of housing do not automatically place her/him in one of the categories - "bad lot", "nice folk" or "snob". When asked about different groups in the village, informants often pointed out that some people owned their houses while many did not, but villagers rarely define an individual as a "snob" on the basis of home ownership alone. This is due to the fact that there are many "mainstream" villagers who are related to individuals now living in private houses, and the latter could be just as "nice" as any "ordinary" villager.

"Nice folk".

A "nice family", then, maintains certain standards - ideally the father has a steady job (what **kind** of job is not so important), and a steady attitude to life. While he can be generous to friends and neighbours, and knows how to enjoy himself, he is "good to" his wife and children, making sure they have what they need rather than spending large sums on drink or at "the bookie's". His wife manages the household finances (whatever their level) with his help, so that the home and the family are kept orderly and clean, avoiding the pollution caused by physical dirt or infringement of other moral rules in the community.

She ensures that household members are dressed appropriately, with warm clothes in winter and light ones in summer, and that they always look "smart" on occasions which require them to be "dressed" - attending church, wedding receptions, social "dos" in the village, etc. It is not necessary to possess a large or elaborate wardrobe; indeed villagers tend to laugh at people who are "done up like a dog's dinner", and to comment on any woman who "always turns up in something new", since this suggests that she may be

spending too much on herself, to the detriment of her family. It is more important to be seen to "make an effort" and to have "neat" clothes and the occasional hairdo. In Chapter Six I shall explore the timing of interior redecorating and the purchasing of furniture and clothes.

She makes sure the family eat well - with at least one "good meal" a day, consisting of meat and two vegetables, and a special dinner (usually involving roast meat and a fancy pudding) at the weekend. There should be some luxuries in the house, such as chocolate biscuits and fancy cakes (perhaps a bottle of vodka or whisky), ready to offer visitors and the children should be allowed to eat a certain amount of "rubbish" (sweets and fizzy drinks from the ice-cream van or from the counter at the youth club). But "extra" expenditure should be limited to special occasions - a special family party, or a meal out, to celebrate a wedding anniversary; new clothes for the children for gala day; a gift for a neighbour's new baby, and of course to pay for the cards, presents, and the food and drink involved in Christmas and New Year.

The members of a "nice" family support one another, financially and emotionally, and it is especially important to be "good" to one's elderly parents, visiting them often, taking them "little bits and pieces" - a piece of fish or a packet of biscuits, making sure they see the doctor if necessary and that they take any medicine they are given.

Wives who work are rarely condemned since most villagers recognise this is often an economic necessity, and also that it is good for a woman to get out of the house, especially if she has no children. However, since the husbands of working wives are also usually in employment (benefit regulation discourage the wives of men on Supplementary Benefit from working), working women with pre-school children are obliged to find someone to mind them during the day - usually a parent or sister. Ideally, a mother should leave her children with a baby-sitter (even a relative) only occasionally, and this belief means that women tend to wait until their children are at nursery or primary school before taking a job (usually part-time one).

A "nice woman" is always willing to help a neighbour, but is wise enough not to let herself be "put upon" by those who might exploit her kindness. It is possible to be "too nice fer yer own guid", and wives are sometimes described as being "too guid" to their husbands and children. Self respect involves a degree of discipline, especially in cases where ones relatives are seen to be lazy or spendthrift. She will always be happy to welcome visitors to the home, providing at least a cup of tea and biscuits or a sandwich or other type of snack. She will always greet other villagers in a friendly way whenever they meet.

Even the most notorious members of the "bad lot" redeem themselves to some extent if they say hello or offer other pleasantries: "At least he never passes ye in the street!", or "She always **speaks** to ye, I'll give her that!", or "He's no' too bad really, once ye get talkin' to him". It is the unwillingness of the "snobs" to participate in such exchanges which marks them out as a group apart.

Those who are frequently described as "a really **nice** woman" or "a nice wee soul" are those who, while they are willing to join in conversations about other villagers, do not gossip at every opportunity and do not spread rumours, although they are expected to be indignant if it is warranted by particular circumstances. For example, if the council do not turn up to carry out repairs to one's home, if one's child is threatened by another, or if one's husband loses his job. "Nice folk", especially women and children, do not use bad language, although a lapse is understandable in extreme circumstances.

"Good" parents devote a lot of care to their children, often indulging them, although not to the extent that they become "cheeky" and unmanageable. I mentioned earlier that villagers are sometimes described as being "too good" to their family, and as with many expressions villagers use, this is either meant to be taken literally, to convey genuine criticism, or is used in a more symbolic sense (whereby apparent censure implied actual praise - a kind of symbolic reversal), the speaker's intention being signified by tone of voice, facial expression, and by the conversational context. So, for example, children are frequently described as "wasted" or "ruined" (spoilt), as "wee devils", or as "wild", and in many cases, though not all, these terms are meant affectionately.

Part of proper care for one's children is encouraging them at school. When small children first start at the primary school, parents and other relatives ensure they have smart new clothes and the right equipment - a school-bag, pencils, etc. "Good" parents have some ambitions for their children, encouraging them to try to get at least a few "O" grades, and giving them advise and support as they grow to adulthood.

Children in such households tend to share the "work ethic" of their parents (the belief that one should provide support for oneself and one's dependants through one's employment). However, while many of the school-leavers to whom we talked in Cauldmoss recognised this as an ideal, they knew that much of the work available to them (on MSC schemes, "on the side", or in the form of temporary and/or part-time jobs) was likely neither to be ongoing nor financially adequate. Many job advertisements in the local town aimed at school-leavers offer wages which are only slightly above the amount

of welfare benefit they receive, plus the cost of bus fares to and from the town and the cost of lunch at work. The perceived lack of differential between the amount given to claimants to enable them to survive (and little more) and the low wages offered for such jobs means that the latter hardly qualify as jobs in the eyes of many villagers. This is the "unemployment trap" I referred to earlier, which affects not only teenagers but many adults in Cauldmoss.

Individuals tend to feel that the economic situation in the country as a whole, and especially in their own area, no longer allows them the opportunity to live as they might wish. Talking about their attitudes to claiming benefits, and even "fiddling", villagers sometimes pointed out, somewhat sadly, that they now found themselves doing things they would never have considered a few years ago. Economic necessity limits their ability to exercise their scruples, sometimes to the extent that their values have themselves changed.

In terms of "leisure activities", what do "nice families" do? I pointed out that leaving the children with baby-sitters is not something parents like to do very often (they are never to be left on their own), which means that husbands and wives tend to go out separately. In any case, as I indicated in Chapter Two, many leisure activities in the village are single-sex affairs - the majority of couples demonstrating what Bott describes as "segregated conjugal role-relations" (1957: 53).

If they can afford it, husbands go for a drink on Friday or Saturday night, and sometimes on another evening as well, meeting other men in one of the clubs or bars. Apart from that, he might belong to an organisation (such as the Pigeon Club, the Angling Club, the Bowling Club, the Old Folks' Club, or the Masonic Lodge) which has regular meetings and involves occasional trips out of Cauldmoss at the weekend. Or he might spend time alone fishing or shooting or simply taking the dog for long walks in the countryside around Cauldmoss. At home, most men devote some time to the garden during the summer months, and this is especially popular among retired men, who sometimes point out that the younger generation do not seem to have any interest in growing their own vegetables. If he has a car, a husband often works on it on summer evenings and at weekends. In the winter especially, men sit with the rest of the family round the fire, reading the paper, watching television, and chatting with anyone who might "pop in".

As I suggested earlier when discussing the role of work, a woman's social life focusses more than a man's on her own home and those of other women; unlike their husbands, housewives' work and their "time off" tends to occur in the same physical setting. Because

of this, there are often no clear temporal boundaries around their work. The reason that women spend much time "poppin' in" to see friends and relatives is to provide a change of scene and a break from the responsibilities at home. However, visiting relatives often means becoming involved in chores at their house, and so could simply be more of the same thing, although few women resent helping out in this way.

When asked in the second questionnaire what they do with their free time, many women said knitting and/or sewing, and although this is something many enjoy very much, their responses draw attention to the fact that women's "leisure" is closely associated with their "work". In fact, about a quarter of our female respondents listed housework as one of their "free-time" activities. Often, women combine different activities, for example watching television while ironing or knitting, or cooking while listening to the radio. (See Chapter Six.)

If visitors come round when the children are in bed and when the dinner pots have been washed and the ironing finished, a woman has more chance to "sit down for a good blether" in front of the fire (and the television). Everyone can laugh together at something on the television or at a story in that day's paper, or they might spend time looking at some photographs or at a present the woman had just bought for a relative's birthday. They might have a few drinks (usually cans of beer and whisky for the men - vodka and lemonade for the women) and they tend to smoke a lot of cigarettes. The husband gets up every so often to add more coal to the fire or to refill everyone's glasses. It is invariably the woman's job, however, towards the end of the evening, to go and prepare a snack, "something tasty" such as beans on toast, "roasted cheese" (cheese on toast) or sandwiches. If the latter are not filled with meat, she apologises "It's just what Ah had in the hoose". She makes sure everyone has as much tea as they can drink, and offers cake or biscuits to finish off with.

Wives in "nice families " occasionally go out in the early evening to play cash bingo at one of the clubs in the village, but this is not an everyday occurrence (married women who play every night are condemned for wasting money and for leaving their husband and/or children so often). After the game, they might have a drink in the bar with their friends, but more often than not they go straight home. Sometimes, but not as often as their husbands, women go out for a drink together - either to one of the clubs, to the most salubrious of the three bars in Cauldmoss, or to a "nice pub" in the local town. Occasionally, they might meet a friend for lunch in the town.

As I explained in Chapter Two, it is seen as a good thing to attend prize bingo evenings in

the village since they are held to raise money for charity. A substantial proportion of women from "nice" families are members of the Rural Institute and/or the Churchwomen's Guild, and several are members of the Bowling Club, whose "ladies' night" I mentioned earlier. Several women join in the keep-fit classes held in the social club and in the community centre, and some of the mothers with young children meet at the centre's Mother and Toddlers' group. A number of older women (and men) go to special bingo sessions and a luncheon club held in the centre several times each week. Women of all ages (and men) often go walking; some play badminton at the centre, and/or go swimming in the local town's pool.

At the weekend, a "nice couple" sometimes go out together to meet other couples for a drink, all contributing to a kitty for drinks. Some couples go shopping together in the local town once a week, perhaps having their lunch "out" afterwards. If they have a car, the whole family might go for a drive, "wee trips oot" to local places of interest being more common in summer.

Many of the children of such families go to the youth clubs held at the centre (which some of their parents supervise). A small number are members of the village Cub and Brownie packs, the Pipe Band or the Majorettes. Those whose parents go to Kirk services are likely to attend the Sunday School. As we shall see in the section on religious life below, only a relatively small number of villagers regularly take part in the services at the Kirk . In the 1980s, unlike the situation in the past in Cauldmoss, it is not necessary to be a church-goer in order to be considered "nice", although many of those who did not go to church did take part in social activities organised by the Kirk committee - concerts, whist drives, Christmas fairs, and so on.

Before turning to look in more detail at the "snobs" as identified by villagers who are in the mainstream of village life, it should be pointed out that, because the proportion of villagers occupying this "middle ground" is large, as one would expect, there are some families who camp closer to the edge of the "plateau" than others. This seems especially clear in the case of the boundary dividing the "nice families" from the "total wasters" I caricatured earlier. There are a number of families who do not cause trouble in the village, who are seen to work, who keep a "nice" house, and who look after their children's material needs, but where the parents' frequent visits to the bingo, the betting shop and the pub arouse comment. Their adherence to most of the important social rules means that they are not ostracised in the way that the real "wasters" are.

"The snobs."

In the eyes of the majority of the population of Cauldmoss there are two types of "snobs" - the incomers I described earlier, and those who were born in the area but who feel themselves to be one step above most folk there. Some villagers, when asked about "social groups" in the village, claimed that "the farmers" like to see themselves as different from the rest of the community. Some grouped those who own businesses and shops together with the farmers, pointing out that those who had inherited their money had never had to work for it, or that those who **had** earned it had made it by exploiting others. Whatever the case, villagers resent what they see as a callous display of wealth on the part of such individuals. What seems to lie at the root of their disdain for "snobby folk" is the latter's apparent insensitivity to the conditions of life of the majority of villagers. (Similarly, the people living on our road, at the bottom of the hierachy, sometimes point out that the other villagers do not have their problems and are not sympathetic.)

This was demonstrated particularly clearly in a conversation in which I took part one evening. One of the women present (the wife of the owner of one of the shops in Cauldmoss) complained that she could not afford to buy beef that particular weekend; the other women agreed "It's a terrible price the noo, right enough". But when she had gone they condemned her dissatisfaction: "What's **she** got to complain aboot? She disnae' ken when she's well-off! . . . She's **nae** idea!". One woman said: "Ah cannae' mind [remember] the last time we had beef!"

The definitive characteristic of the "snobs" is an inability or unwillingness to be "one of us"; the display of wealth is simply one manifestation of this, as is choosing to avoid contact with other villagers in the local pubs and clubs, or at social events. One of the highest compliments that can be paid to an individual is to describe her or him as a "good mixer".

Of course, with so many variables involved, in practice the situation is often much more complex than I have made it appear thus far. There are several among the "nice folk", especially older people, who genuinely like and respect many who are rejected as "stuck up" by the majority. Conversely, there are some mainstream villagers (as well as all of the "bad lot") who believe that anyone who joins certain organisations (the Churchwomen's Guild, the Rural Institute, and especially the Bowling Club) is, by that act, setting themselves apart from other inhabitants, and this, despite the fact that there are members of these organisations who also play bingo in the social club fairly regularly.

An example of the subtleties involved in such distinctions was provided when I went to a friend's (a "nice girl") "Show of Presents" prior to her wedding. (In Chapter Six I intend to describe this event in more detail, as part of an examination of wedding rituals.) While most of the (all female) guests sat in the crowded living room, "blethering" over tea and sandwiches, the bride-to-be, May, escorted small groups up to her bedroom to show them all her wedding presents (with their accompanying gift cards) neatly displayed on tables and on her bed.

Women who were particular friends with one another went upstairs together, and this meant that there was less need for the discretion that would have marked an appraisal of the presents in public - that is, in front of all the guests. The women seemed to calculate the likely price of the various gifts, the value of which reflected not only the giver's financial situation, but also her/his sensitivity to the position of other gift givers, and to that of the recipient. In the future - at the giver's own wedding for example - the latter will have to make a return gift, after all. This was no potlatch (as described by Benedict, [1935] for example) where the richest contributor was expected to outdo other members of the exchange network.

For example, two friends had given the bride the same type of present, but one had clearly cost considerably less than the other. The women I was with in the bedroom said it was kind of the giver of the less expensive one to have given something "nice" - especially when her husband was not working. They clearly felt the gift needed some "legitimation". Their knowledge of, and liking for, the giver led them to reinforce her position as a member of their group, despite her current inability to demonstrate this in quite the appropriate way. By far the most expensive present displayed was a set of silver-plated cutlery, given by the bride's aunt and uncle, and this was the focus of much comment.

This particular set of relatives lived in a detached house, and the parents and both children had "good jobs" (of a managerial and professional type). The family had several cars, and a house filled with expensive furniture and other possessions. They were involved in both the church and various other "respectable" organisations in the village. Some saw them all as "snobs", although those who had known the father (who was a native - the bride's mother's brother) all their lives, liked him very much, and tended to restrict this label to his wife (an incomer and, even worse, from England) and to their children. Even though his wife joined in village activities, she was believed to be critical of much that went on in Cauldmoss, and to set herself apart.

Among the group of gift-viewers I was with, there was a variety of responses to their present. "Trust **her** tae give something so flash", said one (ascribing the present to the wife alone). Another pointed out that "They **are** May's aunt and uncle", so had to give something special (aunts and uncles being seen almost as second parents in the close-knit family structure of Cauldmoss). The first replied that the aunt should have thought how May's parents will feel when they have to give the aunt and uncle's own daughter a present at her forthcoming marriage - because May's parents will not be able to afford to get something so expensive.

This conversation led on to a discussion of the difference between the aunt and uncle, focussing on "what a nice man" the uncle is - he does not give himself "airs"; they assumed that he had tried to dissuade his wife from choosing such a gift. One of them pointed out that, by tradition, the aunt and uncle of the bride have to give cutlery (just as the bridesmaid gives china), so really they did not have much choice. They concluded by deciding that, since the aunt and uncle "have the money" to pay for such a present, then, had they given a less expensive canteen, people would have called them mean. In any case, May is an only child, so that the aunt and uncle do not have to worry about buying wedding presents for any other nephews or nieces "on this side of the family" at least.

Such open analysis of the intricate, usually unconscious, rules governing gift giving and social interaction in general (or "'embodied dispositions", to use Bourdieu's expression [1977]) is fairly uncommon, and brings out the complexities of status ascription in Cauldmoss.

Talking to several of the "snobs" themselves suggested that some of them (mainly the incomers) had no desire to "get involved" in village life; some were horrified at the tales they heard of drunken fights in the pubs, and neglected children. Several seemed embarrassed at having to admit to colleagues and acquaintances in the town that they lived in Cauldmoss, and told me they always made it clear that they live "in a separate bit, not on the scheme". They were vaguely aware of their reputation among villagers for being "stuck-up"; some interpreted this as "just jealousy speaking". Several were quite happy to be seen as different.

However, among the affluent owner-occupiers, especially those who were running shops or other businesses, several seemed rather sad that they tended to be seen in this way, and pointed out that it was important to be "friendly wi' folk" and to be "careful what ye say and do". The position of employers is a particularly difficult one, and I noted earlier when discussing employment in Cauldmoss that one of the two main employers told us that her

policy was not to recruit people from the village. The other, however, does take on village men, his attitude being that he cannot afford, for the sake of his business, to be too squeamish in his actions. He is, however, a sensible, hard working, and down-to-earth man, and it seems that many villagers, almost despite themselves, are forced to like him.

Although the farmers used to employ locals to help, especially at busy seasons, most can no longer afford, or need, to do so. Even native born farmers are traditionally a group apart in Cauldmoss. The farmers themselves were rarely seen in the village, although one used to drive in each day on a tractor to get his "messages" [shopping]. I had more contact with their wives, many of whom were Rural Institute members - this probably explains why "the Rural" is seen as an elite organisation.

The foregoing comments about attitudes to farmers and business people suggests that the nature of one's employment is one factor in ascribing an individual to a place within the hierarchy in Cauldmoss. It is true that when discussing a particular individual, villagers mention her or his job if this is an "unusual" one in the village (especially where it is of a professional or managerial type), or point out that s/he is unemployed. However, the significance of this information for villagers is determined by the extent to which the standard connotations of this economic fact reinforce or counterbalance other pieces of knowledge about the individual - other "cognitive elements" (to use Festinger's term [1957]).

It has to be seen in the context of what is known about that individual's lifestyle and her or his approach to other villagers, and in some cases, stereotypical images have to be considerably revised. There were, for example, teachers and self-employed people living on the scheme, and even one man who employed other folk. Conversely, a small number of owner-occupiers were unemployed men, while one worked as a bus driver. It is also worth pointing out that there is a difference between the way villagers perceive an individual and the way they behave towards her or him. While most people recognise the importance of the role of the doctor or the minister, for example, and treat him with the deference they believe to be necessary in face-to-face encounters, at other times their knowledge of his personality prompts them to criticise him in general terms, and to question his professional competence in particular.

Often, when discussing the changes there have been in Cauldmoss, mainstream villagers (even non church-goers) talk about the various ministers Cauldmoss has known, the implication being that the minister represents the community in some way, and should embody its ideals. Some villagers said of one particular minister: "McDonald was

Cauldmoss". While most believe that it is inappropriate for a minister to join in all the social activities which other villagers enjoy, his acceptance in the village depends on his willingness to become involved in their lives to some extent. All the ministers in recent years have come from outside Cauldmoss; their test once installed there was to become as much like "one of us" as possible within the limits of the job.

Besides finding out what he himself was like, villagers were keen to "get to know" the immediate family the minister brought with him to Cauldmoss, particularly since he had no existing relatives in the village. Villagers expect the minister and his family to be "well educated" (unlike the majority of the villagers themselves), for example, but this should not make them "stuck up". One ex-minister in particular was criticised for preferring "to be with his ain people" rather than out meeting folk in Cauldmoss. He spent too much of his time either with his unforthcoming family, or his middle-class friends in the town.

This brief description of those individuals whose success (rather like that of Wight and I) depended on their ability to work out the village's social system, and to manoeuvre their way carefully through it, includes a passing reference to villagers' ideas about religion, kinship and education. I will conclude this chapter by looking in more detail at these issues, starting with kinship.

Kinship, marriage and sexual morality.

During the course of my discussion so far, various aspects of kinship in Cauldmoss have emerged: the extent of the interconnection between villagers and their perception of this; the importance of the family in providing moral and material support; the stress laid on one's status as a native, and the ideology of the community as one large family. In Chapter Six I shall look in detail at the role of kinship in villagers' ideas about change and continuity, and at the part it plays in linking the past and the present. We shall also see how particular events which structure change involve the re-affirmation of kinship ties. More fundamentally, ideas about the duties entailed in kinship determine the way in which individuals use their time, and their evaluation of one anothers' activities. As a background to this discussion, I shall outline the main features of such relationships below.

To use anthropological terminology, the kinship system of Cauldmoss, and throughout Britain, is cognatic or bilateral, with rights being passed through both male and female

links. These rights refer both to material and non-material items - including ownership of property, membership of the group of "real Cauldmoss folk", and the inheritance of family characteristics (physical and psychological). These rights involve duties - for example, the duty of taking care of one's parents and any property they leave to one, and the obligation to behave as a "nice" member of the community.

In terms of marriage practices, in our "complex system", while certain relatives are prohibited from marrying, there are no formal rules about whom individuals should marry. Having described the situation in formal terms, I should point out that (as anthropologists have shown in many societies) the system in Cauldmoss involves a considerable degree of flexibility and qualification. So, for example, although villagers agree that, in theory, an individual's possessions should be left to their oldest child, in fact, they are in agreement that it is morally correct to bequeath them to the offspring who has either given the most care and attention to the parent, or who is most in need of them, especially where they include a home and/or money.

In terms of one's place in the community, I suggested earlier that affinal relationships do not constitute a means of transferring full membership, although they bestow a degree of "belonging" greater than that allowed to completely "strange" people moving into the village. Surnames are passed through the men in Cauldmoss a practice instituted as a result of the colonialisation of Scotland by the English. Legally, a woman retains her maiden name in Scotland when she marries, in addition to receiving her husband's name.

Where a wife's parents live(d) in the village, she will continue to be referred to informally by her maiden name after marriage, even though her husband's name will be used for her children. For example, a girl will be called "Julie McGee, Molly Brodies' wee lassie". Talking about the extent of interrelation in Cauldmoss, villagers often warned us as outsiders; "If ye speak ill o' yun, ye speak ill o' all". Nevertheless, within the community, they frequently identify individuals in terms of their particular kin group, membership of which tends to involve a sense of solidarity more pronounced than that which binds the inhabitants as a whole.

The belief that kin should help one another was graphically demonstrated by the way in which criticism levelled at the perpetrators of an armed robbery in the village was intensified when it was discovered that they were in fact distant relatives of their victims. Despite this ethos of kin solidarity, it is clear that beyond their first degree kin - those in an individual's family of origin or procreation - the kinship ties which villagers maintain are a matter of choice, depending for example on physical proximity. As

recently as thirty years ago, extended families shared one dwelling. In the 1980s it is common for a nuclear family to live in a council house in the same street as the mothers' parents, for example, and sometimes right next door to them.

Ties of kinship and affinity are maintained by women in Cauldmoss to a much greater extent than by men; it was pointed out to us that at the death of a sister, mother or grandmother (who often form the nexus for a kinship network), men do not tend to maintain kin ties because "they dinnae' get together" like women do. I mentioned earlier in this chapter that for many women, their social life revolves around daily visits to relatives and friends, and I described the way in which relatives help one another in the house. We encountered several cases where a daughter did almost all the domestic chores of her widowed father, even to the extent of going to his house to cook him a meal each day, allowing him to maintain a sense of independence.

While few ignore their fundamental obligations to first degree kin (and many have close relationships with all their aunts, uncles, cousins and second-cousins in the village) there are cases where siblings in the village never speak to each other. Such aberrations are commented on by others, and are usually the result of a very serious disagreement, often described as being due to the "interference" of an outsider - the wife or husband of one of the siblings.

Despite villagers' general negative attitude towards "strangers", there seems to be no preference on the part of young villagers to marry another native; in fact, there is a certain glamour attached to going out with someone from the nearby town who is unknown to other villagers. Parents are willing to accept a stranger who, proves her/himself to be "a nice, steady girl/boy", "from a nice family". In fact, the results of our first questionnaire indicated that only about one fifth of the residents of Cauldmoss are locals married to a local. In the majority of cases a local had married an incomer. As Fox puts it, in our type of society, it is likely that an individual will marry someone who shares the same type of "life history, social position, personal preferences" (1967: 222). Bourdieu is more explicit, referring to "class or class-fraction" endogamy and the "elective affinity" which draws together individuals sharing the same habitus whose common tastes make them a "well-matched couple" (1984: 241-3). This is true in Cauldmoss whether an individual marries a local or an outsider, and many of the latter come from the council schemes in one of the nearby towns or villages. Where a local marries someone whose job and/or lifestyle requires them to live in the town, for example, the couple are likely to set up house there, although close ties with relatives in Cauldmoss will be maintained through frequent visits, and telephone calls if possible.

As I suggested earlier, most youngsters in Cauldmoss aim to marry, and most do so in their twenties. Usually a young man marries a girl a little younger than himself; cases where a man married an older woman, or a woman many years his junior, were a cause for comment. Unemployment is seen as constituting an obstacle to marriage but does not prevent it. The transition to adulthood begins when one gets a job, and is completed when one "settles down", gets married and has children. Although many young people in Cauldmoss could not find work, they could at least take one step towards becoming full members of the community by getting married. Up until 1986, when benefit regulations were changed, those on benefits who moved into houses could apply for a Special Needs grant to pay for essential furniture, and the couple's relatives would usually do all they could to help them set up home - decorating, giving them "bits and pieces" from their own houses, etc. Young unemployed couples without children told us that they would prefer to put off having children until they had found work, but we knew of several such couples who had babies.

Although villagers do comment on individuals who married their first cousins, this seems to be more a matter of mild surprise than of positive disapproval. Some informants pointed out that in communities where such a practice is common there tends to be a large number of "retarded folk". This belief, together with what they said about incest, helps to account for their willingness to accept the marriage of locals with outsiders (albeit the right kind of outsiders).

During the time we were in Cauldmoss, I was told about several cases of incest. Current ones included a widower who was believed to have had sex with his young teenage daughter. An informant told me the man had been reported to the S.S.P.C.C., but no legal action seems to have been taken against him. This case was especially horrifying to villagers because it involved a young girl. When we asked villagers what they thought were the worst things that went on in the community, many poined first of all to neglect of children; paedophilia was almost something too awful to mention. I heard of one example where a woman's boyfriend had "interfered with" her very young daughter, something which horrified villagers.

Incest between adults seems to be rare, and these who did tell us about instances in the village often saw it as amusing. One woman was accused of having sex with her father, and what is more, making him pay for it. One informant enjoyed recounting the tale of a couple who had moved into a cottage outside the village about ten years ago, telling everyone they were "man and wife". When it was eventually discovered that they were brother and sister, villagers reported them to the police. We were also told about two

orphans who got married and came to live in Cauldmoss, and later found out they were siblings. The man was so ashamed that he hung himself.

These stories and others like them concerning illegitimate births and extra-marital affairs suggest a long history of challenge to sexual norms in Cauldmoss. Some informants (especially elderly ones) complained about the immoral behaviour of villagers today (especially the younger ones). What they were actually objecting to was the apparent lack of shame on the part of those choosing to live together without marrying, on the part of the young single women who had babies, or on that of married people having affairs. Their comments and our observations suggest that in the first two cases especially, the small number of villagers who did these things were making a stand and refusing to play the role of embarassed and degraded individuals. There appears to be a relationship between such changes in morals and changes in economic conditions in Cauldmoss. An unemployed unmarried couple living together can each claim welfare benefits (provided they can convince an official that they are living separately or sleeping together for not more than three nights each week). Together these benefits amount to more than the rate paid to a married (or cohabiting) couple. As informants said: "It just doesnae' pay us to get married!"

Similarly, as a single mother it was easier (in the early eighties at least) to get a council house and welfare grants than as a single childless woman. Moreover, when girls cannot look forward to finding work, becoming a mother (even an unmarried one) involves some sense of achievement. Villagers' love of children means that any child, even an illegitimate one, is fussed over and spoilt, giving some satisfaction to the mother. Having said this, however, I am not trying to suggest that young people in the village who lived together or had "illegitimate" babies were motivated to challenge "the system" by adopting a full-blown alternative ideology. Most women consider the idea of "the women's movement", for example, to be a bit of a joke, although women recognise that relationships between men and women have changed over recent years.

Those having affairs outside their marriage tend to keep a lower profile; there is much criticism of those who "cheat on" their spouses, and sympathy for the betrayed husband or wife. This criticism may be qualified, however if, for example, a woman is seeking to escape from a violent or disinterested husband by her liaison with another man. Villagers tend to excuse her behaviour by saying she is "just looking for a bit o' happiness". Even older women sometimes point out that most younger husbands treat their wives better than did husbands in the past, and say that "ye cannae' blame" a wife for leaving an oppressive partner. On the other hand, I heard villagers condemn the increase in the number of

divorces and separations they say they have witnessed in the village over recent years.

Discussing marriage and family life with villagers, many demonstrated an attitude which Hoggart claims characterises the working-class outlook in general (op. cit: 91-93): the idea of "takin' each day as it comes", and "makin' the best o' things". (I will say more on this type of fatalism in the next chapter). The perceived increase in the proportion of marriages which fail does not seem to be discouraging young people in Cauldmoss from getting married. It is true, however, that, compared to their parents' generation, fewer of them will remain married, at least to the same person; the rate of remarriage seemed high in Cauldmoss, as, indeed, it is throughout the U.K.

In accordance with the stress villagers place on family life, "loose women" - those who do not confine their sexual activities to one partner, but (as Martin [1981] puts it) threaten the boundary around one aspect of institutionalised liminality (that is, sex) - are subject to much comment in Cauldmoss. The "closeness" of life in the village (the physical proximity of individuals to one another, and detailed knowledge of those around one) means that tales about the activities of such women are widespread. Comments made by Cauldmoss lads reinforce Hoggart's point about "girls who are willing. . . .the easy ones are soon well known" (op. cit: 100). He claims, however, that working-class communities demonstrate a degree of tolerance for members who work as prostitutes. While it was true that many villagers are willing to "pass the time o' day" with a woman known locally as "the prostitute" (especially if she spoke first), she remains a figure of fun for some, and a foolish and/or immoral woman for others.

Much the same may be said about villagers' attitudes towards the very small number of "out" homosexuals who live in the community, as I suggested earlier. Such individuals tend to retain the full support of their own family, other members of which are, in any case, often seen as also demonstrating deviant tendencies, either the same or different ones as the person in question. In both "outcast" and sometimes in mainstream families, this support takes the form of brothers fighting for one another, or to avenge a female relative.

This sense of solidarity within families helps to explain why so few people leave the community, despite the lack of employment opportunities locally. Conversations with villagers and the results of our second questionnaire suggest that up until about the mid seventies quite a few people did move to other parts of the country and even as far afield as Canada and Australia. At that time, individuals were willing to sacrifice the security and orderliness of life in the community for the opportunity of higher pay. Informants

point out that this movement away from the village was self-perpetuating - once one young man was seen to have "settled quite happily" elsewhere, his friends were more likely to follow his example. In the 1980s, youngsters tend to feel that they have more chance of finding work if they stay put - the job situation everywhere else is believed to be as bad as it is in this area, and here at least, they have their relatives and friends to help them find a job or to help them deal with unemployment.

As we saw in the case of sexual morality, economic factors interact with non-economic values here. The demand of the local labour market for semi- and unskilled workers reduces the need for a skilled, carreer-orientated and mobile work force, and (especially in the past when jobs were available) means that kinship ties - notably between father and son - serves as an important channel for job information and recommendation to prospective employers. In times of high unemployment, when fewer jobs are formally advertised, many of those which do become available (especially those on the side) are notified through word of mouth, prompting many villagers to tell us that "It's no' **what** ye know, it's **who** ye know."

Villagers' reluctance to move is also partly due to the belief that other places, even inner cities, are the same as Cauldmoss in terms as their attitudes towards strangers. Not only would they be without familiar faces; they themselves would be incomers. Some informants bemoaned the fact that youngsters from Cauldmoss seemed to have so little interest in travelling, and seeing new places. One told me she knew several who had never visited any of the larger cities only twenty to thirty miles away.

The only explanation I can offer for the unusual extent of younger villagers' immobility as compared with similar villages, is to suggest that Cauldmoss is more isolated from the local town than most outlying communities. It is not for nothing that it is seen as being situated "up in the hills" (as we saw in the section on "Images of Cauldmoss"). In comparison with other communities, the relationships which villagers maintain with their parents and other relatives seem particularly close, and perhaps these have been intensified **because** of the difficult economic conditions in Cauldmoss. Some youngsters simply said they wanted to stay in the village because "Everyone ye know is here, ken, all yer family, ken", or they felt that their "roots" are in Cauldmoss. More precisely, some gave their relationship with their mothers as the main reason for not leaving. For example, one of the toughest skinheads in the village rejected a place on a residential Youth Opportunity Scheme away from Cauldmoss when he left a borstal, saying "Don't ye think Ah've been away fra' ma mither lang enough?" It was not clear from this comment whether the lad felt he had to be looked after by his mother, or whether he needed to

look after her. The conventional image of manhood would probably prompt him to emphasise the latter interpretation, but I think it is true to say that in practice, both aspects are important to people in Cauldmoss.

The division of labour in Cauldmoss households means that it is often easier for a son to develop stronger bonds with his mother than with his father, and as I mentioned earlier, mothers tend to indulge their sons more than their daughters. This stress on needing to be near people one knows goes hand-in-hand with the type of immobility Hoggart described in settled working-class communities in the North of England in the 1950s (ibid: 62-64), although the more widespread use of private cars (and also taxis) which we saw in Cauldmoss has given individuals a little more freedom of movement than in the past.

In the 1980s individuals no longer have to weigh loyalty to their family of origin against the need to provide for their own household, which in the past may have involved moving where the best jobs were. During the 1970s a small number of men reconciled these values by leaving their wife and children in Cauldmoss while they worked away for weeks at a time in the oil industry. In the 1980s this tradition continues, although the work itself is likely to be in construction rather than in oil.

Attitudes towards education.

At the beginning of this chapter, I briefly described the historical development of educational, religious and local government institutions in the village. I would like to finish this discussion of lifestyles in Cauldmoss by looking in more detail at villagers' experience of, and attitude towards, education, religion and politics today. This will provide a background against which to discuss informants' comments about various time-related issues, such as ideas about working towards future goals, "getting on" in life, and what life's purpose may be.

Most village children begin their schooling at the age of three or four by attending the state nursery school. At five, they move to the primary school in the village (which has about 150 pupils each year), unless their parents chose to send them to a Catholic primary school in the nearby town, as a small number do. At eleven, the latter group go on to a Catholic secondary school, while the majority of village children attend one of the three non-denominational secondary schools in the town, the one which has the least successful academic record.

Up until the 1960s Cauldmoss school also provided secondary education which means that

informants in their mid-thirties and over did not have to go out of Cauldmoss for their education, apart from the minority who passed the qualifying exam at twelve, and went to a high school in the town, or decided to take a qualification at the local Technical College.

During our time in Cauldmoss, there were eight full-time teachers at the primary school, and classes were relatively small in number, a fact which parents appreciated. By the mid-eighties however, cuts in educational spending meant that teachers leaving were not replaced and there was a marked shortage of reading material for the pupils. Three of the teachers lived in Cauldmoss, one of them on the council scheme, and the headmistress and the other teachers lived in or near to the local town. Only the teacher who lived in the scheme was really involved in the social life of the village; the rest seemed to lead rather more "middle-class" lifestyles. Several had fairly "liberal" views, although most disapproved of those villagers who were defrauding the DHSS, for example. In contrast to the majority of villagers, several stressed the satisfaction they got from their work as being equally, or more important than, their wage. Although some of them acknowledged that large-scale unemployment requires a reassessment of the purposes of education, they had not considered what this might mean in practice. "We've really got to teach them for leisure", said the headmistress; for her this simply involved the need to "give them games: badminton, pool. . . "

Moreover the school continues, through its curriculum and its approach to discipline, to re-affirm values that were intended to produce good employees. More "middle-class" schools encourage the development of abilities necessary in professional and managerial jobs: leadership, responsibility and the ability to organise one's time and meet deadlines. In contrast, Cauldmoss school, and the secondary school to which most villager children go, are more concerned with socialising children for the role of "ordinary" employees, inculculating values centered on subordination, co-operation and the importance of conforming with imposed time-discipline. The headmistress was proud, for example, of the way in which she had improved discipline at the primary school, especially in terms of punctuality: "They respond to discipline very well".

She pointed out that Cauldmoss children are of a different type from those she had taught previously in a suburb of a nearby town, because the former are working-class "village children". They are "beautiful turned out", however, and she pointed out that most parents show a high level of concern about their children's education, especially in the first years of schooling. The community is very generous, she said, whenever the school organises fund-raising activities. Earlier, I noted the way in which parents often

encourage their young children to read books and made sure they were keeping up with their school work. However, this is less obvious with older children and the headmistress confirmed that parents' interests seem to dwindle as their children move up the school; she pointed out that the Parent Teachers Association was dissolved through lack of support in the early eighties.

Nevertheless, the school continues to be seen as an embodiment of official respectability; and as such is the target for occasional acts of vandalism and theft by local teenagers. (This reaction to authority is found in other Lowland towns, for example, see Willis & Turner 1980: 30). Another illustration of the school's importance was provided by a father who, although he had a serious drink problem, stayed "dry" for the month before his daughter started school; he did not want to be seen to be drunk when collecting her.

Children themselves appeared to enjoy the nursery and primary school, although many were less enthusiastic about the secondary school. Some played truant ("plugged school"), although this tended to be a regular occurrence only among "bad" families in Cauldmoss. Our first questionnaire indicated that the majority of villagers left school at the minimum leaving age, and that most of those respondents who had stayed on for an extra year, for sixth form education, or who went for training beyond that, were currently in the 30-59 age group. We found that among the under-thirties in our sample, only those now living in private houses had been educated beyond the minimum age (most of these having had training beyond school). In the early 1980s then, most youngsters from Cauldmoss left school at 16 with few or no qualifications ("O"-grades or C.S.E.'s).

Conversations with them revealed that most recognised that, in theory, having qualifications should help them find work. However, they felt that with no jobs available (in December 1983, the local Jobcentre had one vacancy for over 400 school leavers) there was "no point" in bothering with exams or in staying on. As I suggested in Chapter Two, when describing villagers' reactions to us, "the students", attitudes towards education are ambivalent in Cauldmoss. While parents tend to regard it as "a good thing", they do not on the whole press their children to do well academically. The minority of parents (mainly owner-occupiers) who **did** have such ambitions for their children often criticised both the primary school and the high school, claiming that because the teachers expect little of the children of Cauldmoss, they do not encourage them. The headmistress herself said that, compared to her last school, there were no bright pupils at Cauldmoss primary school.

Parents who feel strongly enough go to considerable lengths to improve their offspring's

chances. One incomer battled with the local authorities until they secured a place for their son at a "good", non-denominational primary school in the local town, and they had to rearrange their routine around transporting him there and back each day. Another couple (locals, but now living in their "own" house, after the mother had inherited money from a relative) worked hard for years to save enough money to put their only child through college. However, he was not happy there and eventually left for a job alongside his father in a timber yard, much to his mother's distress.

Most parents who themselves left school at 14 or 15 in order to acquire the status of worker and earner, collude with their children's desire to leave as soon as they can, even though youngsters are now exchanging the world of school for that of the benefit claimant. Staying on at school means that, although their mother receives Child Benefit for them, they have nothing in their own right. Moves on the part of the Government to cut off benefit payments to school leavers in the future may produce a change in this pattern.

One interesting development during the time we were there, was an attempt by the Community Worker to set up classes to prepare people to take "O"-grade English and Mathematics. This prompted several informants, mainly women in their thirties and forties to tell me that they now regretted not getting any (or more) qualifications at school and would seriously consider going along. However, the Community Worker left soon after and her plans were not realised. Many classes, both vocational and leisure, were run by the regional education authority in the local town, where the Workers' Educational Association also organised various courses. However, informants complained about the cost of travelling to and from town and I met no-one who used these facilities. I shall return to the question of parent's expectations for their children in Chapter Six.

Religious life.

I outlined the main religious institutions in Cauldmoss earlier in this chapter. In our first questionnaire, we asked respondents if they were "associated with" any particular religion. We found that almost half of our sample claimed some sort of allegiance with the Church of Scotland, while most of the remainder said they had no links with any church. 5% were Catholic, 3% belonged to the Church of Christ or other Baptist churches. The group which revealed the highest rate of allegiance to the Kirk was those aged sixty and over, living in council housing. I will concentrate on the Church of Scotland here, since its influence was much more widespread in Cauldmoss than that of the other churches, despite the fact that the number of regular church-goers (about fifty) was only about half

that achieved by the Catholic chapel.

The regular Kirk attenders we noted included only six elders, all of them male - although there were twice as many women as men in the congregation (as Willis and Turner found in the East Coast parish they studied [1980: 27]). In 1983, the Churchwomen's Guild still attracted about twenty members, and the Sunday School had enlarged to about 40 children, although there generally seemed to be only around ten members present each week.

In Chapter Three, I discussed Gordon Marshall's assessment of Weber's claims about the relationship between Protestantism and capitalism in terms of their applicability to nineteenth century Scotland. Marshall's analysis may help us to make sense of some of the behaviour and comments I noted in Cauldmoss in terms of the origin of the beliefs which underlie individuals' activities and evaluations. In accordance with Weber's justification of his use of ideal types, I think it is legitimate for me, as it was for him, to isolate elements of informants' behaviour and to point to similarities between them and aspects of religious ideology, and to suggest that any points of contrast found may be the result of a switch in emphasis from a religious motivation to a secular manifestation.

Basically, I want to suggest that villagers' stress on the importance of managing one's resources to the best of one's ability, their belief that one should methodically work to support oneself and one's dependants, and the limitations which they often impose on their luxuries and enjoyments, all stem from the teachings of a reformed church whose influence in the past was much more persuasive than it is in the present day. While the belief in the moral rectitude of such attitudes remains strong among many villagers, interest in, and understanding of, the theological justification of such beliefs has declined.

The lack of a clear underlying justification for these ideas may help to account for the cases we encountered in Cauldmoss of individuals whose values and/or behaviour differed from the norm. These included those who said they saw "nothing wrong" in claiming as many welfare benefits as possible, and those who spent most of their time and money on their own pleasures (especially on drinking and gambling). However, the majority of those whose lives did not entirely fulfil the convention seemed to conform in some respects. For example, while some could not earn the money they needed, they could at least call on all the resources available to them in order to achieve some measure of the material well-being which has traditionally symbolised one's moral prosperity.

Most of those villagers in this situation seemed aware of the compromises they were

making. Many blamed the current economic situation, or more specifically, the Thatcher Government, for creating a situation which forced them to deviate from their "ideal", for example, by "fiddling the electric", working on-the-side, staying in bed until noon, indulging in binges, etc.

In terms of religious activity in Cauldmoss, it is certainly no longer true, as it seems to have been in the past, that the social position of an individual depends on "his admission to the communion, [and] the clergyman, through his ministry, Church discipline and preaching, exercised . . . decisive influences." (Weber 1958: 155). In the past (though to a much lesser extent in the 1980s) the church's influence was felt not only through the activities of the minister, but through the local events organised by church members, and the secular organisations with which the church was involved, such as the Scouts and Brownies.

In the mid-eighties informants pointed out that, despite the new minister's popularity, he would not succeed in boosting the numbers in his congregation; people were simply no longer interested in the kirk. Attending services I often felt many of those present regarded it primarily as an outing, an opportunity to wear some of their best clothes and talk to their friends. Some of them sucked boiled sweets or mints during the service, and afterwards they would say how much they had "enjoyed" it. In our first questionnaire we included a question which asked how individuals described "going to church". A third of the respondents called it "a pleasure", while a sixth saw it as "leisure". Another sixth described it in ways which would be classed as morally positive, while the remainder thought of it as a necessity or as something which is unenjoyable.

Many of those who went to Kirk services while we were in Cauldmoss appeared to do so to establish their "respectability" rather than to express deeply held religious beliefs (Sissons [1973] reached the same conclusion after studying church-goers in a nearby Lowlands town). On the other hand, the elders, most of those women running the Sunday School, and most of those who did other work on behalf of the church (such as members of its Social Committee) seem to be genuinely motivated by religious concerns. When I went to interview one of the elders, he even gave me a copy of the Kirk's magazine (which has the revealing title **Life and Work**) to take away and read.

As I mentioned when discussing the social structure of Cauldmoss, the new minister was a "thinking" man, whose carefully prepared sermons usually reflected his strong political as well as religious views. He often quoted passages from the Bible which he claimed proved that God intended every society to provide work for all its people, and said that

He was surely saddened by the concern with material wealth existing in the world today, and the lack of basic human kindness.

He tried to deliver the same type of message to the homes of non-attending Kirk members, as he worked his way through the membership roll, and as he participated in church socials and other village events (especially these involving children or the elderly). He visited the primary school each week and talked to the different classes, and also went along to meetings of the Cub and Brownie packs. The Kirk still stresses its potential role as a formative influence on the young, and the minister encouraged children to join the Sunday School where the teachers talk to them about Bible stories and the moral they convey. In fact some of the children who attended the Sunday School had parents who did not go to church.

As we saw, Weber's analysis was based on the argument that Protestantism involved a realignment, or rather an abolition of, the boundary between the sacred and the secular. As is well known, religion played a decisive role in political events in Scotland from the time of the Reformation. Today, however, the church and the state are separate entities and religion (of whatever denomination) no longer plays a decisive role in the life of communities. This is demonstrated by the debate on the appropriateness of the Church of Scotland's work to combat the effects of high unemployment (see Clarke 1982).

Villagers' reactions to the contents of the new minister's sermons, and to his comments outside of the Kirk, provided further evidence of the division of the sacred and the secular in every-day affairs. There were several church-goers, and other villagers besides, who objected to the new minister's tendency to mix religion and politics. "It is no' right", they said "he should stick to one thing or the other." He himself told us that he had even received an anonymous letter asking him to restrict his comments to strictly religious matters; his response was to bemoan some villagers' lack of awareness of the interconnection between these two areas of life.

My knowledge of the small number of Catholics in Cauldmoss does not indicate that they differ from other villagers in their attitudes towards most aspects of life. Even the twenty or so members of the Church of Christ, all of whom belong to three particular families and all of whom try to attend all its services, seem to lead lives very much like those of other villagers. Although we were told by those we talked to among the "brethren", that their religion plays a large part in their lives, only a few of them still demonstrate the "strict attitude. . . towards all amusement" which Hudson tells us is a hallmark of the sect (1948: 205). However, their regular church-going and the fact that

most of them avoid drinking to excess and swearing, leads other villagers to label them "Holy Joes". In fact, the teenage children of the church members themselves seem to find the demands of the brethren's worship (which consists of unaccompanied hymns and spontaneous prayer) difficult to live up to, and are not attending services.

A small number of villagers choose to go to churches and chapels in neighbouring towns. These are incomers from nearby places who remain members of their original church, and those whose tastes are not catered for in Cauldmoss, such as a couple who are Baptists. A few women go occasionally to Spiritualist meetings in the town and have many stories to tell of the "weird" things that go on there. Whatever the religious intentions behind the women's visits, it is clear that these have a high degree of entertainment value. I shall consider villagers' interest in such phenomena in more detail at the end of the next chapter.

The other "religiously" inspired organisations in Cauldmoss are the Masonic and Orange Lodges. As far as we could tell (detailed information on the Lodge meetings and ideology being difficult to obtain), the members of these bodies are less concerned with spirituality than with the outward, ritualistic forms of religious life. The Masons do, however, stress their non-denominational moral ideals, while the Orangemen's concern lies primarily with emphasising the superiority of Protestantism *vis-a-vis* Catholicism.

The Masonic Lodge in Cauldmoss was first established in 1868 and for the next twenty years met in the two hotels in the village, until a special hall was built in 1901. The Lodge was still flourishing in the early 1980s, as was the local branch of the Eastern Star, which was set up in 1950, to cater for the sisters and daughters of Masons. The Masonic Temple itself is housed on the upper storey of the hall, which can be hired, for example for weddings. The lower floor, (which used to contain three houses) is now a bar and clubroom, and it is here that the Saturday night "sing-songs" and bingo-sessions I mentioned in Chapter Two take place. The former, as I said, attract many staunch Protestants (though few church-goers) and no Catholics, and this reflects the fact that the hall is also used by the Orange Lodge for its meetings. There is some overlap in the membership of the Masonic and the Orange Lodge.

The development of mining brought many Irishmen to the area, and the mine owners' use of Catholic labour to undercut wages caused long lasting bitterness between the Protestant and Catholic workforces. In the 1850s, an Orange Ball took place in one of the hotels in Cauldmoss. An Orange Demonstration, celebrating the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, was held around that time, when about sixty people marched behind a brass band

from a nearby town; this is claimed to be one of the first such marches ever held in Stirlingshire. In 1881, the Lodge, which had grown considerably in numbers, and now had its own band, opened an Orange Hall in what had been the Old Parish School. However, by 1911, the Lodge had ceased to function. There was a brief revival in 1936, but it was not until 1962 that it was again re-opened, this time meeting in the church hall.

Today, the Lodge, which has separate meetings for male and female members, has a dedicated following, although numbers are small in comparison with Lodges in surrounding villages. Its annual July march attracts a fair number of spectators, and the number in the procession is swelled by members from other Lodges. In fact, the Cauldmoss Lodge itself seems to be dominated by one family in particular, which originated in Cauldmoss, but whose members now live in other villages. The Orange March is not as popular as the Gala Day held in March, however. (The other annual parade, that held on Remembrance Sunday in November, is a very small affair, attended mainly by kirk-goers.) The Orange Lodge's flute band was disbanded in the early eighties.

During the Orange Walk, the procession slows down and beats its drums loudly as it passes the Catholic Chapel, and villagers talk of how in past years, some of the marchers have thrown stones at the windows of the Catholic houses they pass. Almost every year, on the night before or after the march, the Chapel is vandalised, although in recent years the damage has not been as great as it was on the night, fourteen years ago, when the Chapel was set on fire and lost its roof. The parish priest told us that this event turned many of the Protestants in the community against the Orange Lodge ("It was a blessing in disguise"), and several Protestants actually helped to put out the blaze.

In general, members of the Masons and the Eastern Star tend to be drawn from the more "respectable" section of the Cauldmoss population. However, like most Masonic Lodges in Scotland, the Cauldmoss Lodge does not primarily consist of the more wealthy, especially self-employed residents (as is often the case with Lodges in England, where membership fees are much higher). Several members in Cauldmoss are unemployed. The Lodge raises money for charity, but its main function seems to be as a social meeting place. Members explain that, in theory, it provides mutual aid for members, although in terms of help in finding jobs, it is agreed that because of the limited amount of work available, membership of the Masons (or the Orange Lodge, for that matter) is not an advantage today, though it may have been in the past. The value of the two Lodges when seeking work is probably the same as that of any similar social institution, like the pub.

Political awareness.

I suggested earlier that in general, villagers do not have a developed political consciousness, nor are they politically active. As with other mining communities (and with most communities in Scotland as a whole), the majority of villagers support Labour. When asked about their political views, most react immediately with strong condemnation of the Conservatives, especially "that evil Margaret Thatcher".

Very few inhabitants of Cauldmoss are members of a political party and the General Election of 1983 prompted villagers neither to display posters nor to engage in anything other than the occasional informal political debate. Those we overheard tended to consist of criticism of Mrs. Thatcher, especially her lack of concern for the low paid and the unemployed, and criticism of the English who are "stupid" enough to vote her into power. However there is only limited support for the Scottish Nationalist Party in Cauldmoss. Villagers tend to see it as a rather middle-class, right-wing and ineffective group.

We discovered that there were a small number of trade union officials living in Cauldmoss, including a shop-steward for the T.G.W.U. branch at the largest foundry in the local town, which actually shut down at the end of 1982. When asked what they thought about trade unions, the almost unanimous reply from villagers was that they are "a good thing" in theory, and had helped to protect workers in the past, but today they have too much power and are too militant. The place for communists, a number of them said, was Russia. Hoggart's analysis of attitudes to politics among the working-class of Leeds closely matches the situation we experienced in Cauldmoss:

> In general, working people are non-political and non-metaphysical in their outlook. The important things in life, so far as they can see, are other things. They may appear to have views on general matters - on religion or politics, and so on - but these views usually prove to be a bundle of largely unexamined and orally-transmitted tags, enshrining generalizations, prejudices, and half-truths, and elevated by epigrammatic phrasing into the status of maxims. What is more, these views are often contradictory to each other. (Hoggart op. cit: 102-3).

So, for example, despite their dislike of the Tories, villagers' patriotism led them to approve of the handling of Thatcher's Falklands' War. Similarly, while condemning the Government's lack of sympathy for the plight of the unemployed, many villagers (especially those with jobs) are very critical of those unemployed individuals who are seen to be abusing the benefits system in some way - either by not wishing to work, or by claiming benefits while working "on the fly". Villagers tend to regard almost all politicians as having "no idea" of what "real life" is like. One unemployed man said of

Mrs. Thatcher that he would like to "gi' her £25 a week fer a year and make her live in Cauldmoss!" (£25 being the rate of Unemployment Benefit at the time). Politicians are accused of helping only "their ain kind" and even the local district councillor (who lived in a council house in a nearby village) was accused of favouritism in the way he used his influence to allocate housing or funds for local groups. He holds frequent "surgeries" in Cauldmoss, giving residents an opportunity to discuss problems with him, but few attend them.

What I think emerges from my description of the people of Cauldmoss so far is the sense of powerlessness which many feel, especially in their dealings with the world outside of the village itself; it could be suggested that this feeling of being unable to influence events (even events as close to home as one's livelihood) underlies the stress villagers place on their position as members of this particular community. Within its boundaries at least, individuals can see an order which they understand and which allows them some sense of being in control, in so far as they can actively choose to uphold or challenge this order. Just as villagers' subjective sphere of influence is limited, so the extent to which they feel responsible is similarly constrained. Most have a sense of duty towards their family and towards the community, but rarely to society in general.

Cauldmoss folk see power and responsibility as residing in "them" rather than in themselves, so that even while they believe that a man should go out to find work, it is ultimately the duty of "the powers that be" to ensure that there is work out there for him to find. That "they" are seen as the focus of power is demonstrated by countless comments we heard to the effect that "They should put a stop tae it", or "They ought tae do something aboot it". "They" referred to any one of a number of authorities, ranging from the national or local government, to the Football Association, or the Kirk's General Assembly, and "it" could be anything from the ease with which individuals can buy on credit, to the poor quality of the local bus service.

It is this ascription of power to the significant but faceless "other" which underlies the apathy which has often been said to characterise the working-classes. Certainly, there was little support among villagers for one man's suggestion that folk from Cauldmoss join a new Council Tenants Association covering several villages in the area. There was little enthusiam for calls made later by a small number of villagers that a local Residents Council be established in Cauldmoss itself. Villagers frequently complain about the decline in services provided by the district and regional councils and government departments, such as those covering council house repairs and care for the elderly and the mentally ill. Although they do not actually describe their relationship with such

authorities in such abstract terms, it is as though they see it as a contract or bargain, which the authorities, by not using rate- and tax-payers' money to fulfill people's needs, are failing to honour. As I noted above, many of those informants who find themselves "cheating" the system, almost against their better judgement, are able to legitimate their actions by referring to the irresponsibility which they believe the authorities display. As one man said "Ye cannae' cheat Maggie Thatcher enough cos she'll always cheat ye mair!" Villagers' lack of confidence in "them" extends even to those politicians they have by tradition always supported. Many believe even a Labour Government will not be able to improve the economic position to any great extent.

Asked about their views on technological change, almost everyone saw this as just one aspect of a system with its own unstoppable momentum: "computers will take over. . . " (This is a common viewpoint discussed, for example, by Winner in his book **Autonomous Technology** [1977]). Even when the "social" assumptions underlying such developments are recognised by villagers, they tend to believe that "They just dinnae' care what will happen to ordinary folk like us". The fact that individual responsibility is seen as more important than any sense of collective responsibility leads villagers to reject suggestions made by some analysts and politicians that they help to ease the unemployment situation by taking up opportunities for job-sharing, voluntary redundancy or early retirement. Since doing the right thing for an individual involves having a "proper job", taking up forty hours a week for as many years as possible, this is not compatible with giving up all or some of one's work for the good of others.

Conclusion.

In this chapter, I have dealt with various aspects of life in Cauldmoss, beginning with a brief description of the geographical and historical development of the settlement, and moving on to look at the current situation in some detail. This involved consideration of employment and unemployment in the village; the importance of conformity and the strength of conservatism; the role of the family and peer groups in inculcating values; attitudes towards alternative value-systems (including those presented by the mass media); different social groups and institutions in Cauldmoss; kinship, marriage and sexual morality, and finally, attitudes towards education, religion and politics in the village. What emerges is a picture of a strong community striving to hold on to traditional ways and beliefs in the face of economic and social change. This chapter lays the foundation for the examination of time in Cauldmoss, to which I shall now turn.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE NATURE OF TIME IN CAULDMOSS.

Introduction

My intention in this chapter, and in the next one, is to isolate the role which time plays in villagers' collective representations of life and the world. I want to consider how important time is in helping them to make sense of their own and others' experiences. Returning to Zerubavel's (1981) concept of a "temporal map", we can consider the elements of social time which I discussed in Chapter Three - rate, sequence, location, duration and synchronisation - as map co-ordinates which convey information on the temporal position of activities and events and their relationship to one another. These enable people to orientate themselves, to know their "place" in time. However I believe that to produce a more fully-rounded picture, and certainly a more interesting one, involves a detailed consideration of time as embodied in informants' ideas about the past, about old age, or about working hours, for example, rather than primarily in terms of socio-temporal co-ordinates. As I have suggested (using Hall's [1959] term) time is very much a "hidden dimension" for people in Cauldmoss - something rarely considered as a phenomenon in itself, but which forms a "backdrop" to life, a taken for granted and elusive medium in which activities and events occur. It is used in conjunction with other dimensions to produce an overall experience; an individual's assessment of an activity or event is often based on **how** and/or **where** it occurs, as well as on **when** it takes place.

My task here can perhaps be described as trying to separate the threads that are tightly interwoven to produce the picture or pattern of life as seen by my informants (we might even characterise time as the warp and space as the weft). Early on in fieldwork, villagers enjoyed telling me about the rules that govern the wearing of a particular plaid, stressing their identity as the member of a "clan" - a concept about which they were often vague. It struck me that the basic pattern of their lives, which seems so similar for many villagers, could be compared to the tartan; while individuals "own" a particular variation of colour and weave, the same basic themes or organising principles run through them all. To take this metaphor one step further, one might suggest that those who find their time and space structures violently disrupted (the unemployed and retired being clear examples) seemed to experience an unravelling of the very "fabric" of their life, as their patterned experience began to disintegrate.

Even those who manage to retain their "cloth" intact sometimes find, or are accused of having, faults in it. Just as there is nothing fuzzy or ambiguous about the patterns of the

plaid, so beliefs and ideas in Cauldmoss tend to be baldly stated and clear, leaving little room for aberration or dissention. Where this does occur, the clarity of the dominant cultural design causes it to be especially apparent. To use a different metaphor, the majority of villagers share the same basic template of the world such that anything that does not easily fit its outlines becomes problematic and a cause for comment. In terms of time, this template takes the form of a culturally-specific standard timetable or schedule, an internalised clock or calendar.

In the previous chapter I described the main intra-village distinctions to which informants refer - between the majority, "the bad lot" and "the snobs", and I also mentioned in passing differences in attitude and experience between women and men, between young people and the elderly, and between those in employment and those without jobs. I feel it is true to say, however, that any subgroup-specific ideas about the use and/or nature of time tend to be overshadowed by representations of time which are truly collective. In this chapter and in Chapter Six I intend to focus on these collective images of time in Cauldmoss, although I shall also try to point out any significant differences I noted between informants, especially where these seem to correlate with differences in the cultural and/or material circumstances of their lives, such as their educational or employment experiences or their knowledge of lifestyles and events outwith the village. In the next chapter especially I will refer to quantitative data (presented in detail in Appendix Three) which throws more light on possible differences between the subgroups in the community in terms of their approach to time.

I shall consider time in both its long- and short-term aspects. The former refers to periods of time greater than or equal to an individual's lifetime, and to significant periods of time within a life-span. It ranges, therefore, from notions about the historical past, and about the future of the community or of society as a whole, to attitudes towards birth and death, and from ideas about the characteristics of different age categories to behaviour marking the movement to a new house or a new job, for example.

Aspects of short-term time are those concerning less critical changes occurring in the day-to-day life of informants, although it is important to be aware that the same area of life often involves temporal markers relevant to both analytical levels. One's working life, for instance, is subject to major (long-term) transitions as one embarks on it, "progresses" through it and finally gives it up. At a lower (short-term) level, the annual employment cycle is interspersed with holiday periods; the weekly work routine usually involves breaks at weekends, while, on a daily basis, work is contrasted with relaxation and sleep. While at work, individuals tend to alternate periods of intense activity with

periods of rest, or at least of less intense work.

Before looking in detail in Chapter Six at time as it is embodied in particular aspects of life in Cauldmoss - namely kinship and work - I will now clarify the type of time-concept which predominates in Cauldmoss, and detail the rare occasions on which informants spoke to me about time in the abstract. I shall consider features of the vocabulary villagers use when referring to time, when talking about the rate at which things occur, their duration, their sequence and their location in time. I shall also examine various sayings concerning the nature of time. The chapter concludes by considering villagers' ideas about luck and fate, issues central to an understanding of their representation of time.

Linearity and cyclicity in time.

In Chapter Two I discussed the distinction which many of those who write about this phenomenon have made between "linear" and "cyclical" concepts of time. I concluded that this is, in fact, a misleading dichotomy since much of the ethnographic evidence that is used to demonstrate a cyclical view could just as well indicate that it is not time itself which is believed to recur, but events in time, or rather types of events. While arguing that the contrast between so-called cyclical and linear concepts of time may be less clear-cut than some analysts claim, I would agree that there are beliefs about time that are suggestive of a predominantly linear approach, or a broadly cyclical view. I would also agree, both from my experience of British culture in general and that of Cauldmoss in particular, that individuals in our society tend to demonstrate both approaches to time.

In Chapter Three I described the way in which time came to be seen in Western society as a substance which flows or passes in one direction, from the past into the future, and which, because it is in limited supply, should be used correctly. In more recent times, thanks to the co-operation of industrialists and moralists, and to the increasing availability of accurate time-keeping instruments, the mass of the population came to believe that temporally regular work constituted the "correct" use of time. This latter belief was still very much in evidence in Cauldmoss in the early 1980s. For the moment, I shall begin by presenting evidence which reveals an awareness of the former, more generalised, idea of time as a finite substance flowing in one direction, and as a commodity, to be used with care.

The onward flow of time.

Both linear and cyclical concepts of time involve recognition of change (which as I suggested in Chapter Two is the very basis of "time" itself). However, the former tends to lay more stress on the concept of "progress", of a continuous movement towards a goal, while the latter emphasises recurrence, the repetition of events, of lifetimes, of entire ages. Not surprisingly, in line with the dominant ideology of Western society the inhabitants of Cauldmoss appear to believe that humankind arose in "prehistoric" times, has progressed through "history" and will continue to "develop" until some point in the future when the world will end. Many villagers seem rather vague about the very distant past (one even told us about "wood age" remains which she claimed had been found nearby) and also about more recent historical periods.

However, there is some variation in the extent and type of general historical knowledge. When three young Catholics and I were discussing people's ideas about God, it was clear that they had considerable knowledge of the version of history presented in the Bible, although one of them went on to tell me it was wrong of those who made films about the life of Jesus to use metal since everything would have been made of wood at that time. Apart from this I heard little reference to the bible.

One interesting example of villagers' concern with history and physical time-reckoning occured during a conversation with two neighbours. The old man mentioned a gravestone he had seen in Cauldmoss cemetary which showed a woman's age as 161. Someone had told him that at the time she lived "a year was only ten months", so she "widnae' be 161 years auld as we reckon it up the noo", he said (overlooking the fact that she would still be 134). The young man - a college student - pointed out that it was not until the 1740s that the calender was "changed aboot" and a year became twelve months. (He may have had in mind the adoption of the Gregorian calender in Britain in 1752, although the year has been roughly the length it is now for many centuries.)

I noticed that, while villagers often watched serials on television, they tended to prefer the modern "soap opera" type to "historical" dramas, although one person told me she liked **I Claudius** very much. Nonetheless, there are some less highly educated villagers who were interested in history (for example, in military history), and who visited places of "historical interest" such as Glencoe or Edinburgh Castle during outings or holidays. Very recently, a local history group has been set up in Cauldmoss. This initiative is, in fact, more in keeping with the concerns of the majority of villagers, which tend to focus, both in temporal and spatial terms, on areas close to home. When asked (in an interview)

whether they thought much about "the past", most took the question to be referring to their own personal history, and especially if they were older, to a time in their youth ("in ma day" or "in they [those] days", as they put it) which they frequently contrasted with "nooadays". When we look at the role of time in kinship it will become clear that the temporal horizon "behind" most informants (that is, that which they "look back on" as they sometimes put it, or which they can remember hearing about) usually extends back only as far as the turn of the century of thereabouts.

It was interesting that when asked "Do you think much about the future?", informants (those of them who were not immediately intimidated into silence by such a broad and apparently "technical" question) often assumed I was asking about the development and application of technology rather than about their own plans or about their expectations for their own more immediate future. (It seems that the media's frequent reference to futuristic products, to the "space age", to "Tomorrow's World", and so on, have had an impact on folk in Cauldmoss although I rarely overheard villagers spontaneously discussing such issues, except following the showing of a "popular" film documentary on the effects of nuclear attack, for example). The difference in response to questions about the past and to the future reinforces the idea of time as a commodity. Once it has been consumed, it has become the individual's possession; while it is still to come, it tends to be seen as impersonal, undifferentiated, unknown.

In general, it is middle-class informants (those who tend to have more qualifications, higher incomes and mortgages) who feel more at ease with terms such as "future", "plans" and "progress" when it comes to applying them both to "outside events" and to their own activities (see Chapter Six). Nevertheless, it is apparent that most people have an image of society as a whole, this community in particular, and/or their own family unit, as being involved in a dynamic, evolutionary process to some extent.

Although "development" was not a word I heard used often in Cauldmoss, it is evident that villagers have shared expectations about the rate and synchronisation of change which should occur in one's physical, psychological (mental and emotional) and social characteristics. For example, informants pointed out that one woman's four year old daughter could not talk properly: "Ye cannae' understond a word! An' that's no' richt in a lassie o' that age!" (Villagers noticed that their assessment had "official" backing; they told me that the woman's son was being seen by the educational psychologist "up at the school").

Occasionally, informants refer to "stages" in an individual's development, although most

had difficulty responding at first when I asked during interviews if they "ever thought about a person's lifetime as being divided into different stages". No doubt this was due to the formality of the question and the situation. Since I shall examine their answers and other evidence more fully in Chapter Six, I shall simply say here that villagers demonstrated a linear rather than a cyclical view of individual development. One mother complained that her youngest son, a toddler who everyone agreed was "a wild laddie", was "holdin' back" her eldest child. It was not acceptable for the latter to forget some of what he had learnt, preferring to copy his younger brother and revert to earlier modes of behaviour. While folk often pointed out that there is a special link between alternate generations - "The auld yins get on better wi' the young yins than the middle-aged yins dae" - I did not hear anyone describing old age in terms of a regression to an earlier state of dependency and incapability. To do so would be to challenge the esteem in which most villagers hold the elderly; although the old may need increasing amounts of help, they still have their "pride" and they deserve respect.

The concept of "getting on", of improving oneself over time, is an important one in Cauldmoss, tending to be seen in material, rather than psychological terms. However, on two occasions women told me they were coming to realise they wanted to be recognised as "a real person" and no longer just as "part o' the furnishing' in the hoose", or simply "as this yin's wife or that yin's mother!" Despite the apparent unwillingness of most individuals to challenge social mores in this community, two mothers told me (independently) of their attempts to raise their children to be "independent", to "think fer yersel'" rather than simply doing what everyone else does just because it's always been done that way. But perhaps the clearest case of an individual concerned with progressive "self realisation" was the woman who described her attempts - largely through diet - to "improve ma confidence", to "learn tae like masel'". At the time I talked with her, she was "feeling low" because she saw herself back-sliding, falling into "ma auld ways".

In terms of time seen as a commodity, older people especially talk about their time running out: "Ah've no' got much time left, noo", an elderly neighbour of ours liked to say, probably because this would prompt his daughter into pointing our how well he did "fer a seventy three year auld", so well in fact that she herself would probably be "in the groond" before him. These comments reveal something of villagers' expectations both about old age and about the "normal" pattern of deaths among different generations.

Villagers often speak of "making the best o' things the noo", some of them occasionally going on to point out that it is impossible to "go back" or to "put the clock back" and change the past. The idea of time being wasted is a common one, and it is obviously very much

linked to beliefs about how ones' time **ought** to be used. One particular family, the members of which were generally considered to create many problems for themselves, were often accused of wasting the time of their friends and neighbours through their continual demands for help and sympathy. Their friends seemed to feel that their desire to withdraw their support - an attitude which after all challenges the ethos of neighbourliness in the community - was given official legitimation when it was rumoured that members of this family were to be charged with "wasting police time". One informant criticised retired men who are "sittin' wastin' their life", although she was aware that "they maybe enjoy just sittin' daein' nothin'". (In fact, most villagers seemed to feel that pensioners deserve to rest).

Attitudes towards time wasting came out particularly clearly in the interviews I conducted with the unemployed in Cauldmoss. One man told me: "Day -to-day, it a'ways seems a waste o' time no' tae be doin' anythin' constructive". He also talked about his experience of the way "time passes" at different rates depending on his circumstances. A women who had been on the "bru" for five years told me time passed very slowly when she was at home all day, feeling "dead bored" and "wishin' days o' yer life away. . . When ye are unemployed ye **dae** waste time; what else can ye dae?" (See Appendix One for a fuller account of interviews carried out with this particular informant.) This suggests that work is of such overriding importance in villagers' lives that anything other than work, if it takes up a substantial proportion of one's life, is automatically invalidated. Her comment may also, of course, be interpreted as referring to the unemployed's financial inability to take up new activities in place of work, and in fact the moral and monetary value of employment are very much interlinked in Cauldmoss.

On many occasions, Wight and I felt frustrated at the way in which informants wasted **our** time by failing to turn up at our house, or to be at their own home, at a time we had previously agreed with them. It seemed ironic that it was usually unemployed individuals who "let us down" in this way - the very group who we had assumed would be one of the easiest to gain access to. What we came to realise, however, was that their behaviour reflects the fact that they tend to evaluate time differently from those who have work. In fact, the tendency of the unemployed to undervalue their own time is a result of a belief they hold in common with the vast majority of the community. This is that the only really valid way of measuring the worth (informants often used the term "worthwhile" when assessing various activities) of one's time is in accordance with a model whereby men - and some women - exchange their time for money produced through work, and whereby women use their time to work at producing a "nice" home and family.

Time not "spent" (again an expression used by villagers themselves) in the appropriate manner is, therefore, robbed of its value. While many of the unemployed **act** as though their time has little worth (and several explicitly claimed this to be their experience), in general all the members of this community would probably agree with the informant who declared: ". . . folks' time's valuable. Well, time **is** important tae everybody, especially if ye're workin'. To ask somebody tae sit an' wait ha'f an' 'oor fer ye, it's no' very nice, is it? An widnae' dae it." As one would expect it is those who feel that they are **using** their time, who see themselves doing what society requires of them, who tend to claim that they are short of time and to look for ways of "saving time". The unemployed and the elderly, on the other hand, are almost unanimous in their belief that they have too much of it.

If time acquires value because of its scarcity, then one might expect the meaning of life itself to be brought into focus when villagers talk about death. Despite the decline of religious beliefs, I was nevertheless surprised to find only a relatively small number of people expressing the traditional Christian view that their time on earth is simply a preliminary stage to everlasting life (or torment). Asked whether they ever thought about death, many elderly informants said they had money "put by" to cover the cost of their funeral. Most younger interviewees said that they did not think about it: "Ah dinnae' **want** tae dee - that's the only thing Ah ever think aboot it!"

While questioning informants I found that it was important to distinguish between death and the possibility of an afterlife; "what might happen to you after you die". Asking about the former alone seemed to conjure up images of the physical act of dying itself for informants and did not often lead onto a spontaneous discussion of issues related to death, as it might have done within a culture more accustomed to philosophical speculation on the nature of existence, and so on. It is worth pointing out here that informants may well have answered negatively when asked if they ever "thought about" a particular phenomenon simply because they did not tend to see themselves as having "thoughts" about that or anything else. The advantage of anthropology as compared with other methods in the social sciences is that such responses can be tested against observed behaviour and against unprompted conversation, when it usually becomes clear that informants **do** in fact have opinions concerning the phenomenon in question.

Having said that villagers often claimed not to give much consideration to their own death - especially when it was likely to be decades away - the death of another villager is always a cause for comment. Their remarks, and the rituals which surround a death, suggest that the event is definitely seen as marking the end of the individual's life on

earth. I heard no speculation as to whether a particular person would "live again" here on earth, although on several occasions people talked to me - in more general terms - about the concept of reincarnation.

Cyclicity within the flow of time.

The woman who said that all she thinks about death is not wanting to die, went on to describe how upset she had felt by the recent death of her father-in-law, but then told me that "I think ye keep comin' back . . . I believe folk when they say they've been here before . . . their body dies but I dinnae' think their spirit dies." She went on to point out that this would account for the feeling of "daja-vu" [sic]. She warned me that she is "a funny person - got funny thoughts aboot it!", ideas which she felt were probably not widespread in Cauldmoss. However, in line with the high level of interest in all aspects of the supernatural found there, I encountered several others who had considered such notions: "I've heard aboot the idea of reincarnation, but I'm not altogether sure I would consider that as being the case; I suppose it might explain that . . . deja-vu."

To quote a longer section from an interview with another informant (and her almost "Whorfian" father, who worked for some years as a gravedigger after leaving the mines):

Me: Do you ever think about dying?

Daughter: No, but Ah'm aye **talkin'** aboot it! (laugh)

Father: If ye talk aboot it, ye must **think** aboot it.

D: Well, that's right, I must then, Daddy, aye. Dae I think aboot dyin'? Aye, but no' aboot dyin'; aboot comin' **back**. Ah'm talkin' aboot "Dae ye live again?" an' a' that, ken? Reincarnation. . . There must be **somethin'** . . . there's too many things happened.

F: Na - when ye get doon there, that's the last . . .

Me: Do you believe in the soul and all that?

F: Na. . .they say the soul leaves the coffin; it couldnae' get oot, it's got screwed doon.

D: Aye, but the soul goes through anythin'. . .

F: The minister couldnae' answer me when Ah asked him that. He said "Oh it's got away, God's taken it oot". He wouldnae' argue aboot it.

Me: Maybe it leaves you as soon as you're dead?

F: It's a great thing this soul, eh? . . . There's no' anybody come back to tell us anythin', anyway.

D: No, neither they ha'! Ah'm puttin' a cup o' tea oan.

I still wonder how seriously to take the old man here, and this debate can perhaps be seen as an example of various light-hearted conversations we had in Cauldmoss, especially with people we knew well (with whom we had "joking relationships" in a sense). The fact that his daughter seemed to take his words at face-value led me to do the same. In any case, it is **her** contribution, rather than his, which is of most concern in terms of evidence for cyclicity in villagers' approach to time.

As I said earlier, the notion of cyclicity in time is a contentious one. Even if we reject the idea that time repeats **itself**, it is clear that time involves cycles of repeated behaviour and events. (Since the classification of events and activities itself depends on noted resemblances between their separate incidences, classification itself involves the notion of recurrence). As Moore puts it:

> If events were endlessly novel, not only would predictable order in life be impossible, but so too would notions of time itself. It is only the rhythmic recurrence of patterns that permits the sense of structure and the sense of temporal units. (Moore 1963: 16)

Moore points to the "natural cycles" occurring in our lives "from the pulse and breathing through waking and sleeping, eating and elimination, conception and childbirth to the prolonged process of growing and dying"(ibid: 6). He reminds us of the link between society's most basic activities and cycles in the environment - for example, between the need for sleep and the alternation of day and night, between the menstrual cycle and the lunar month, between agricultural work and the solar seasons.

In terms of social time, the extent to which the members of a group **recognise** (although not necessarily on a conscious level) the existence of such cycles, and the extent to which they acknowledge the recurrence of activities and events, determines how far we may describe them as possessing a cyclical view of time. Most of the socio-temporal rules I set out in Chapter Three involve the recognition of such repetition, and as will become increasingly apparent during the course of the present discussion, the inhabitants of Cauldmoss have very many common expectations as to the rate, sequence, location etc.of events. We may not believe that time itself (or specific instances of an activity) recurs, but we acknowledge that the same "kind of time" occurs repeatedly, whether this is vacant units of physical time or engaged periods of time during which the activity conventionally associated with that period is carried out.

As one would expect, villagers are aware of physical time as a series of homogeneous and constantly repeated vacant units, which accumulate as time passes. Cyclicity and linearity are combined here since, for example, while the unit of a week recurs, "**this** week" only makes sense within the context of "**last** week" and "**next** week". Moreover each temporal cycle itself consists of a set of points through which an individual moves as if in a straight line. So one man told me he was "coontin' off the days tae the end o' the month" when he would get his "pay". People frequently refer to units of physical time - minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, years, and so on. I met no one in Cauldmoss who could not "tell the time" apart from young children, and I heard mothers teaching their children how to work out what time it was by looking at the hands of the clock.

However informants often experience the same quantitative time units as qualitatively different; there is variation in the degree to which individuals note the recurrence or uniqueness of events, and in their evaluation of their experience. One (unemployed) man referred to "the same maudlin' monotonous day to day routine", while a retired woman, claiming that everyday was the same, added "I go on quite placidly". On the other hand, another elderly woman told me "Everyday's different; I make it different. Otherwise, it'd be too boring", while a housewife pointed out that because she does different things each day, no day is typical and the weekends are especially chaotic (see also Chapter Six).

In what way can one thing be said to be "the same as" another thing? My informants, along with most other people in Western society, do not believe that time can be reversed allowing periods of it to be re-experienced directly. Many villagers said they had seen films dealing with "time travel" such as **The Time Machine** or **Back to the Future**, and television programmes like **Dr Who** and **Star Trek** . Their enjoyment of these seems to be grounded in their fantasy value, in individual's recognition that such reccurence is impossible. When an event is said to happen "again" this points to the high degree of similarity between the two occurences, which are seperate instances of one phenomena.

Perhaps we may see the temporal template I referred to earlier as an ideal or essential form or pattern of temporal organisation. It is this, for example, which dictates that each annual Gala Day in Cauldmoss should be "the same as" or at least "like" all the ones that went before it in terms of its rituals and costumes. Form the point of view of time, each of its constituent parts - the procession, the wreath-laying and crowning ceremonies, the fete on the "park" (field) - has customary duration, and they follow one another in a traditional sequence. An implicit awareness of this ideal structure prompts villagers to complain if the sequence is altered or if some participants either take "too long" or "rush

through" a part of the proceedings.

Despite this replication, informants are of course aware that **this** year's Gala is not **last** year's. Villagers, especially those with young children, often talk about the Gala and many have photographs of past Gala Days. It seems to encapsulate for them much that they value; it embodies a sense of a united and prosperous community, and is an opportunity to celebrate childhood and family togetherness. It is a chance to "let go" and enjoy oneself at the time of year when the sun is hopefully beginning to make itself felt after the invariable hard winter and spring months. That the Gala is seen as an important event is indicated by the fact that it is often used to locate other activities in time. One informant was trying to remember exactly when her daughter started wearing glasses; her friend said: "Mind [remember], she hadnae' had them lang and she'd tae wear them in the procession - she was black-affronted! [angry/ashamed]". The mother pointed out that since the Gala is always held at the end of May or early in June, the girl must have got them during May. It is exactly this type of association, involving reference to both social and solar cycles, which villagers seek in their attempts to structure their experiences.

For this particular informant, that year's Gala Day will stand out from other Galas because it was the one in which her daughter first wore glasses. "Mind, that wis the time oor Joan had tae wear her specs in the procession" she is likely to say on future occasions, a type of formulation I heard very frequently in Cauldmoss. The significance of this quotation as a whole is that it demonstrates that villagers, while identifying individual Gala Days as manifestations of the same event also differentiate between particular manifestations.

This reference to events "manifesting" is reminiscent of Whorf's analysis of the Hopi view of time, which I mentioned in Chapter Two. This involves a distinction between objects and actions that are "manifested" and those which are "unmanifested". According to him, the Hopi do not regard each day as a new event, but rather as the continuation of a preexisting situation. It is as if successive days are seen as the repetition of a visit by the same man (while we in our society, he believes, see each day in terms of the unique visit of a different individual [Whorf 1962: 148]). The above discussion of an annual festival in Cauldmoss suggests, in contrast to Whorf's claim, that in some senses it is seen as the unique visit of the same individual.

What I have said about the conventionality involved in Gala Day applies equally well to very many events in Cauldmoss - both to those having a relatively slow tempo (weddings, funerals, interior decoratings, whist drives, and so on) and to those which are more closely

spaced in time (meals, going to and returning from work, going to and getting out of bed, "nights out", and so on). The very basis of convention in a conservative community, the basis of custom, of "the norm" itself, is regularity, the repetition of existing patterns. Since Cauldmoss is a community dominated by convention it is not surprising that informants often talked about their "habits" or "routines", about wanting "regular" work, about eating their meals at "set times", or about the "auld fashioned . . . the **richt**" form of hen party or of Hogmanay. I will return to this issue in Chapter Six.

That villagers are well aware of both the repetitive **and** the progressive aspects of areas of life is demonstrated in their discussion of child bearing, for example. Women are clearly conscious that each pregnancy can be expected to last nine months, and that since the same biological process is taking place each time, a mother can anticipate that the physical and emotional experiences of her first pregnancy will be re-experienced if she "falls" (as they put it) a second time. "Oh no, here we go again!" is how one young mother greeted the news of her second pregnancy, she told me. She described her dread of again going through "mornin' aifter mornin'" of "clingin' tae the lavvie-pan" as she had when carrying her first child. (She was in fact surprised to find she was much less nauseous with her second baby, which made her wonder if she was going to have a girl "this time" - she already had a boy - or even if there was something wrong with the baby). Later, she warned "ye git tae the stage where nane o' yer claes fit", and eventually to the point where your bulk means "ye jist cannae' lie easy in yer bed at nicht!" Even as she emphasised the repetitive nature of the experience, she referred to a progressive "model" of foetal development.

A linear approach to this aspect of life is further evident in villagers' ideas about the ideal childbearing "career". Women are generally expected to marry and start a family in the first half of their twenties, and either to have several closely-spaced pregnancies (often followed by the sterilisation of one parent) **or** several spread out over a period of ten or so years following marriage. A woman who already had one child of sixteen and who then fell pregnant again was the cause of much speculation; had she been "caught oot?", perhaps because "her tubes" or those of her husband had grown back together several years after being cut, as villagers claims sometimes happens. Whatever the reason, a (younger) informant told me "Ah didnae' ken **where** tae look!" when she saw the woman in the antenatal clinic in the nearby town, being overwhelmed by embarrassment for her: "It gave me a red neck, ken?"

It is appropriate to concentrate on the area of childbearing when considering **cyclicity** in social time since, as I suggested in Chapter Four, villagers' notions of inheritance involve

the belief that an individual's dominant characteristics (physical and psychological) are often passed on to her/his descendants. This goes far beyond the straightforward transference of looks and outlook from parents to children; older informants sometimes point to the correspondence between specific behaviour in a child and that of one of her relatively distant and long-dead forbears (a kind of reincarnation in a sense).

If cyclicity in time involves an appreciation of the repetition of "empty" units of time combined with a belief in the recurrence of the type of event or experience associated with that unit, one of the clearest examples of cyclicity in this community is villagers' ideas about the seasons. "Season" was a word I heard used by many villagers, and not simply to refer to the standard four-fold division of the year. Informants also mentioned the hunting and fishing "seasons", and could tell me the calender dates these spanned if I asked. One man told me he looked forward to the "garden season" each year, while a woman referred to the holiday period over Christmas and the New Year as the "seasonal weeks". The "seasons of the year", as villagers call them, are usually discussed in terms of the severe weather one can always expect in winter in Cauldmoss, and in terms of the change that the (ideally) warmer weather of the summer brings to their activities, allowing them to work in the garden and go for walks or other outings. An example of the awareness of the cycles of nature which I noticed in many informants was that found in one individual: "Ye've got lushness up here in the summer and it looks nice in the winter with the frost". This reveals an aesthethic appreciation of such cycles, reinforcing Lévi-Strauss' (1966) claims for the intellectual, as opposed to the merely utilitarian function of such classifications, which I noted in Chapter Two.

The most pervasive way in which the past enters into the present, in which particular phenomena no longer in existence are re-cycled and allowed to "live" again, is in peoples' memories and in the physical records they keep. Similarly, that which does not yet exist can be contemporised, brought into the present in imagination, in the plans that are think about, discuss and sometimes set down on paper. Obviously, everyone has to focus to a large extent on their immediate activities, but it seems in general that the elderly are often preoccupied with the past, for example, and as I suggested above, on the whole "professional" people give more thought to shaping the future than do unskilled workers. Many of the unemployed actually described the way in which they had become more "present-orientated" (although not using such jargon themselves) since losing their jobs. To try to sum up attitudes on the whole in Cauldmoss, I would describe it as a community which is continually looking backwards, and measuring present development against a standard based on the past. As I shall describe when discussing kinship in more detail, informants spend large amounts of time re-living past events and experiences, not merely

those in which they themselves were involved, but also incidents from the more distant past which they heard their elders "blethering" about when they were younger. Occasionally, especially during "story-telling" sessions, an individual would point out "It's nice tae ha' memories" or "It's guid tae be able tae look back on these things".

Although those below the age of twenty or so also enjoy gathering together in small groups and laughing about their past exploits, they often seem bored when in a "mixed company", a phrase used to describe a group including people of widely differing ages. In such circumstances, the adult children of elderly participants will often encourage their parents to "tell us some o' they auld stories", recognising the pleasure this gives to "the auld yins". While youngsters frequently declare these tales "boring", and criticise their elders for "sittin' aboot gossipin' a' day", there is much affection between young people and their "maw/mammie" (grandmother) and "paw/popa" (grandfather). The traditional (and usually actual) close association between alternate generations to which I referred above means that, despite their apparent rejection of that which interests the old folk, teenagers have a fairly extensive knowledge of past events in the community.

Despite villagers' generally positive evaluation of the practice of making reference to the past, there are circumstances in which this is discouraged. One of my friends, a widow, sometimes got upset thinking about her husband, especially on the day that was the anniversary of their wedding, and at Christmas and New Year time. She would be encouraged by her friends to "ha' a wee greet [cry] hen", but gently warned that "It disnae' dae tae dwell oan the past". Discussing the "terrible" behaviour of a particular villager with another informant one day, I pointed out in his defence that the man seemed to have had a "rough time" while he was growing up. "That's a' very well", she said, "but ye cannae' keep goin' back tae the past fer excuses". He should think about what he is doing **now**, she went on, and how things will be for him in the future if he "disnae' change his ways".

While it is true that in practice villagers are slow to reverse their opinion of individuals in the community, especially those belonging to "the bad lot", many seem to recognise the value of "letting bygones be bygones". When explaining Hogmanay to me, villagers claimed that it was a time for forgetting one's grudges, particularly in the case of disputes between kin. Those who remind others of their past misdeeds in order to taunt them are criticised for "casting up", and on a few occasions I heard an informant warn another person (who was in the act of doing something reprehensible, such as eating chocolate when on a diet): "Ah'll cast it up when ye've forgotten a' aboot it!"

This seemed to me a practice similar to another technique individuals use to create a "snap-shot" image which vividly captures a particular moment. Rather than simply saying he has his evening meal at 5pm every day a man told me: "Ah sit doon tae eat ma tea at five o'clock", and instead of just telling me her mother died at the age of 54, one woman said: "Ma mither was lyin' on her death-bed at 54!" This technique of vividly capturing "moments" in time is frequently used by villagers while they are telling stories, a favourite pastime about which I shall say more in Chapter Six, where I will also consider the extent to which informants make use of actual photographs to preserve the past.

To conclude this discussion of the degree of linearity and cyclicity found in time as experienced by the inhabitants of Cauldmoss, I shall quote the replies of some of those I interviewed when asked directly whether they thought that "history repeats itself" or not. Several said they had never thought about it, but while discussing change and repetition with me, a recently divorced woman from the scheme told me: "Things go by, they do change; ma circumstances are changin' rapidly. But they do come roond tae the same. For example, fashion - that repeats itself. The same thing comes back."

Another woman, this time a private householder, said: "I don't believe in time as such repeating itself; I think it's human nature repeatin' itself". The repetition, as she saw it, lay in people making the same mistakes as their predecessors; she noted the comparison she had heard villagers make between the current economic recession and that of the 1930s (although she felt that circumstances now are probably different from fifty years ago - "depressions" happen for different reasons). This is indeed a parallel informants frequently draw (even those born after the 1930s), although some then go on to point out that the situation now is "not as bad" as then since today "even unemployed folk still have colour televisions and washing machines".

Informants sometimes declare that "nothin' really changes . . . it's just the same ol' thing" - or "the same old story". "There's a'ways been one law fer the rich an' another fer the puir, an' there always will be!", said one man, for example. Among the inhabitants of our street a frequent topic of conversation was the likelihood of the local council renovating the houses. One of our neighbours pointed out: "They've niver done a thing tae them frae [from/since] the day they were built, an' Ah cannae' see them doin' onythin' in the future neither. It's a'ways the same".

Villagers' reflections on time.

Having said that villagers do not tend to think about the phenomenon of time in an abstract sense, about its role as an organising principle, nevertheless some informants displayed an objective awareness of time. This occurred not only on those occasions when I attempted to steer the conversation in such a way as to encourage open speculation on this topic, but also spontaneously, in everyday exchanges.

In the last section I indicated various ways in which villagers made reference to time, not simply in terms of the association between physical time-markers (the calender and clock) and particular occurrences, but also in terms of the relationship **in time** of different events and activities to one another. In this section, I would like to look not at the structure of time in Cauldmoss so much as at villagers' reflections on the nature of time.

For several informants it was recognition of the relativity of **experienced** time which prompted reflection on the enigmatic quality of time itself. An old man told me on one occasion that when he looks back at his life, the years seem to have "fleen [flown] by", and this is especially true "once ye reach forty". (Sometimes villagers spoke of the years/weeks/days/etc "jist fleein' in " - presumably into the past?) He pointed out that if you know you are going to do something in a year's time, it feels like it is "a lang way off", and yet, "lookin' back, a year's **nothin'** . . . It's a strange thing . . .". But then, he declared "The whole world's goin' fast nooadays", whereas he felt it was important to be able to sit back and relax. It's "no' lang till the fishing season starts on March 15th", he added. A young mother made much the same point: "It's funny how ye look forward to somethin' fer a long time" - in this case a party - "then it's all over so quickly".
There is a difference, I think, between asking people if they are "aware of time", or "aware of the time". The first expression seems to me to refer to a phenomenon which may be measured and evaluated in different ways. The second asks about embodied time; about cognisance of specific instances of physical time. Informants, however, did not appear to make this distinction, so that when a woman claimed "I'm no' conscious o' time" and then went straight on to say that the only thing that concerned her was getting the children to school in the morning, she was referring to clock time.

In fact, she was typical of many informants in that, having stated a lack of concern for time and/or "time-keeping", it became clear that she was in fact very "conscious o' time". Her conversation was peppered with references to it. In reply to a question about her past jobs (which included no request for any dates or other time-indicators), she told me that she got engaged when she was sixteen and married when she was seventeen. This latter

was in "the December of 1976", which was a month after she had worked at a particular firm for a year, because she had started there in November of the previous year. "Then" (a word continually used in Cauldmoss), she fell pregnant between the January and the February, and after six weeks had to go into hospital, and so gave up her job. But "soon", she decided to ignore her doctor's advice and to get another one, this time doing "piece-work" in another factory where she could earn £72 a week clear - rather than the basic £55 - by working late on Tuesday and Thursday nights and also on Saturday mornings, and so on. All this had happened nine to ten years before, and yet the details, including those about time, obviously remained significant to her.

It is perhaps not surprising that this informant recalled information about her past employment so well, since work is an area of prime importance in Cauldmoss. However, she was able to supply precise details about many other areas of her past, and those of her relatives and friends, which is in keeping with a concern for the minutiae of life which was widespread in this community. (As Hoggart puts it, the working-class tend to lead a "dense and concrete life, a life whose main stress is on the intimate, the sensory, the detailed, and the personal" [1957: 104-51]).

This woman's description of her **present** life also revealed a concern with time, despite her claim to the contrary. "If Ah'm **doin'** something - doin' housework, for example - an' goin' somewhere at twelve o'clock, an' it's now ten to eleven, I'll be lookin' at the clock an' rushin'". She told me that, at the moment, two of her major concerns were dealing with lawyers engaged in a court case to establish her ex-husband's alimony payments, and her driving lessons. Both meant that she had appointments to keep and had to organise her day carefully. Nevertheless, she maintained, "Ah don't watch the clock a lot . . . Ah wouldn't say Ah've got a **routine**".

One might expect that the extent to which each villager is aware of physical time depends on the demands that are placed on her/his time, and on the degree of organisation her/his activities require. In general this seems to be the case, although there are exceptions, and there are also apparent inconsistencies in what some individuals say about time. One sixty-four year old man living on a disability pension declared, for example: "Ah like the clocks" and said that his meals were "regular as clockwork, Ah can tell the time by them . . . Ah always was regular a' ma life". However, he also said ,"As the saying goes, time means nothin' . . . Ah never bother much aboot the time . . . only when the needs come on", by which he meant only when he was hungry. He explained that his stomach "is a guid time-watcher".

From this slightly confusing string of statements, it seems that this particular informant feels that he has no need of physical time indicators, and if he had, his body would provide him with a guide. As he himself said "Every day's the same . . . Ah don't know the difference between Monday and Sunday"; the only difference being that on a Sunday he gets two newspapers, rather than just one as on every other morning. He did point out that when his wife was alive and their children were small his life was more varied; they would go on holiday together and celebrate birthdays and anniversaries. Despite his current declared lack of interest in time, he was able to give more or less precise clock times for when he got up ("at about six o'clock in the summer" and later in winter), went to bed (about half past ten or eleven), and, of course, for when he ate his "dinner" (at three o' clock each day). His preoccupation with meals and food in general is in fact something I often noticed among those who spend most of their time at home - housewives, the unemployed and the elderly. This is another aspect of the "concreteness" of villagers' lives, but it is also indicative of the importance of meals as markers in time, dividing up the day. Since it is always necessary to eat, meals tend to remain regular even when other "tasks" (cleaning, repairing, gardening) are left undone.

To return to the individual under consideration, in addition to his references to clock time, he could also readily relate events to the "calendar". He described how he was made redundant from the brickworks in 1978, which was followed by six months on a Manpower Services Scheme and three months working for the council. Asked about some of his household possessions, he said he got his three-piece suite twenty three years ago. (This is one of the oldest we came across in Cauldmoss; most people replace their suite every few years, a fact he seemed aware of: "In they days they were made to last"). He also recalled that his telephone was taken out in 1981.

This informant remembered events not simply in terms of months and years, but also in terms of the association between different occurrences. For example, he pointed out that he got his suite when his daughter got married, a fact which probably helped him to recall its exact age. Similarly, he noted that his wife died "jist at the same time" as the brickworks closed, that he "put his car away when ma wife died", and that he got rid of the phone a couple of years after she died when he realised that with her gone the rental was more than the cost of the calls.

It was clear in his case, as it was with all my informants, that there were key events which stood out in his memory, and the meaning with which he endowed other incidents depended on their connection with these major happenings. For villagers, time is a connecting mechanism; an appreciation of the temporal rate, sequence, location, duration

and synchronisation of phenomena provides various means of relating items to one another, of ordering and structuring experience. I have already pointed to kinship and work as two areas of life which are crucial for the inhabitants of Cauldmoss. The fact that for this particular individual major events from each of these areas took place **simultaneously** seemed to give each event added significance for him.

Like this informant, another retired man told me : "Ye niver bother much aboot time noo . . time's **nothin'**. Ye could live withoot the clocks noo . . . But ye like to have 'em". He would not take any of my time sheets to complete, but agreed to supply me with information about his hour-by-hour activities so I could fill in a sheet for him. It transpired that, although the "events" he described were often widely spaced (interspersed with hours spent "reading the papers", "studying the horses", "at the bookies", "watching telly", or "walking" during the summer) they were precisely timed. He referred several times to his "daily routine", and this revolved around getting up at 7.30 am, having a cup of tea, going for the papers at 8, eating breakfast at 9.30, having another cup of tea at one o' clock, and then dinner at 4.30.

One housewife began by telling me that she and her family "have very regular habits"; they get up and have their meals at the same times each day "through the week [on weekdays]" (there was some variation at weekends). However, she went on to say that since she gave up her job eleven months earlier she had felt that "I can't get myself organised"; she lacked motivation to do "the things I **should** do in the house, and the things I **could** do outside it". "The pattern of my life has changed so much", she reflected, there seemed to be "no real structure" in it anymore. All these examples point to the lack of fit that can exist between a person's fairly structured existance and their actual perception of the degree of order in their lives.

The father-daughter "double-act" I introduced earlier when discussing villagers' ideas about death actually told me they believe it is not a good thing to consider time:

Me: Do you think about time - how quickly or slowly it's passing by, for example?

D: No' really, no. Dae you, Daddy?

F: No, ye're best no' think aboot it, Ah think.

D: Ah like talkin' aboot long ago an' a' that, but no' sayin' "Oh, time's flyin' . . ."

A teacher living in one of the private houses and her husband (who, unusually for an

owner-occupier, was an unemployed manual worker) had obviously speculated on the nature of time before I appeared on the scene to ask them about it. The husband was one of only a handful of people in Cauldmoss who were familiar with the concept of "time discipline" and the "work ethic" (a group which included the minister and another teacher, a woman who lived on the scheme). He told me:

> Say the beginnin' o' the Industrial Revolution, the upper class (the Tories!) guided the whole o' society today intae a sort o' a time bracket where ye're really conscious o' the time **a**' the time. Everythin' ye do's coverin' mair time, even when ye're at work. If ye're in the manufacturin', ye've got tae get so many items through in such-an'-such a time, regardless o' the fact that the quality might not be in it . . . Ah don't like that idea.

He described in general terms the way in which his experience of time had changed since he lost his job. Although it is longer often necessary for him to know the exact time , when he is in the house "Ah'd rather listen to a [radio] station with time-checks. Ah'm not sure why. It's possibly a habit from workin'". He also pointed to a particular incident that had happened earlier that day, an incident which he said made him aware of the way in which he judged the passage of time. He had been leaving the house, he told me, to go to the local town, when his wife asked him if he had his watch. Ah thought there was no point takin' it because Ah was just goin' fer a bit o' shoppin' and tae the Jobcentre, an' one or two other places; Ah wasn't pushed . . . " Then driving along the road out of Cauldmoss he saw an accident - the school bus hit a tree. After a few minutes he brought the driver back to his house so he could use the telephone. "Then about twenty-five minutes passed an', ye know, it **felt** like an 'oor or so. Ah thought, "Where's this police car or the ambulance, or whatever?'"

When asked if she ever thought about time, his wife replied: "I don't ever **consciously** think about it, but on occasions when ye don't seem to have enough to do all the things ye're supposed to do, I think of time - not having enough of it."

An example of the way in which individual's awareness of time changes with unemployment was provided by an informant who contrasted her experience while working with her current situation (this woman is the subject of the case-study in Appendix One):

> There never used to be enough 'oors in the day fer me, when Ah wis workin'. Frae the minute ye got up in the mornin' tae ye went tae bed at night, ye were rushin'. . . Ah wis a clock-watcher; Ah used tae watch the clock a' the time, ye know. . . [Time] 's much slower noo.

Her experience over the last few years had led her to realise that, in fact, she did not need

to "watch the clock". She said that although she never wears a watch,

> Ah can always usually **tell** what time it is; quite good at judgin' the time. Ah always **have** been. Ah just seem tae ken it's nearly one o'clock, or it's nearly three o'clock or somethin'! Ah just ken that when Ah'm in the hoose, it's a **lang** day. An' ye think "Oh gosh, it's only one o'clock." An' Ah lie in ma bed till aboot ten or eleven o'clock because Ah dinnae' want tae get up because it's that lang.

Despite this evidence to the contrary, she declared "Ah'm not conscious o' time", which underlines the equation villagers tend to make between "clock-watching" and being "aware" or "conscious" of (the) time. She went on:

> Ah think Ah think mair aboot time when Ah'm no' workin' because ye've got a lot o' it. When ye're workin' ye dinnae' think aboot it. Sometimes, ye've no' got enough time in the day when ye're workin'. Ye're that busy ye don't actually think aboot ye wish ye'd mair time. But when ye're no' workin', it's dead borin'.

On the other hand, I talked with some of the members of one family on the scheme who were much more consciously concerned with time. All the members of this family (several of whom had left home) had jobs, or were at college or school. The father was an aluminium caster, working a lot of overtime, and up until recently had also been a part-time member of the Cauldmoss fire brigade. The mother worked (probably unofficially) as a "home help", while the daughter I met was a psychiatric nurse. They were all very definite about the importance of being aware of time and of using it well. "Ah can't do without a clock", the mother told me, while her husband explained he used the calender a lot to "mark off" his work rota, as well as birthdays. (Simply asking them to list the ages and occupations of all the members of the family for our second questionnaire prompted them to point out that the husband would be "fifty seven in two days", one daughter would be "thirty in two weeks", while another was "eighteen on Sunday!" This is another example of the significance of a particular event being increased through its temporal relationship with others).

The father told me "Ah don't like leavin' things tae the last minute". He was clearly concerned about the way they all used their time, as was his wife: "We can always find somethin' tae dae!", she told me cheerfully. Their daughter was aware of a desire to lead an organised life: "Ah'm a creature of habit; Ah like tae have meals at set times".

A similar concern with "the time" was displayed by a woman on the scheme who worked as a part-time nurse, as well as looking after her husband and son, both of whom had jobs. "Ah need to see a clock. Ah don't like people who don't have clocks; Ah like to know what time it is. Ah don't think Ah'm a clock-watcher; Ah haven't got time to be a

clock-watcher."

On the other hand, another working wife, this time a civil servant living in her "own house" said of her and her husband (also working): "We don't like clocks. We're not the sort who are always looking at the clock. We're not into that." When I asked them if they wore a watch, the husband replied "No - Ah'm not interested", although the wife said she **had** to have one - to use at work where she interviews people, and in order to catch the bus in the morning.

Both these households actually displayed a similar degree of temporal organisation, with their members' lives being structured around work-times, and also around social events. The nurse told me she regularly spent time "relaxing and meeting friends", and had been to several "dos" recently - dances, a wedding, and a silver wedding. She used a calender, she said, to mark down any "functions Ah'm organising". The civil servant admitted that she too used a calender, and also a diary (a rare occurrence in Cauldmoss - see Chapter Six) "to organise myself", by which she meant to note dates concerning dog-shows, the times dogs would be "in season", and so on. (She bred prize-winning dogs). She pointed out that she would not use them if it were not for the necessity of recording these dates; she even claimed that she would not buy a calender herself; those she had were gifts: "I don't bother with them".

Are there any common threads running through these brief and varied "case studies"? Despite the inconsistencies found in the responses of particular individuals, I think they allow me to make general comments about the nature of villagers' reflections on time. Firstly, it is important to notice what aspect of time these informants claim to be aware or conscious of when they talk about time in an objective way, and to recognise the difference that often exists between such statements and their more common types of assertions and modes of behaviour.

Usually consciousness of time is taken to mean an awareness of physical time as measured by the clock and the calender; more specifically an awareness of the relationship between one's activities and such time markers and/or of how this relationship influences one's **experience** of time. Only the more highly educated or articulate informants tended to be reflexive about time, as in the case of the man who explained the historical development of the pressure individuals feel to use their time productively, or in the case of the couple who had made a conscious decision not to allow themselves to be dominated by the clock. Most, I think, would tend to agree with the elderly man who believed it is better not too think too much about such things.

All these informants made use of physical time-markers to organise their experience, and all of them displayed some regularity, some pattern in their daily activities, even those who claimed to have "no routine". Most of those informants who had ceased working in the recent past, whether through redundancy or retirement, seemed to feel that they no longer had a close relationship with objective time. Many said that they had "routines", but that these did not require any reference to the clock ("Time's nothin'") since there was no necessity for checking on the rate of their activities, of measuring their behaviour against a standard. They did not see themselves as "plugged into" the collective system of time-measurement which is usually an important aspect of activity-assessment, and this, I suggest, is a major element of their general sense of alienation.

Nevertheless, several of these individuals desired **access** to this system - "I like clocks", a sentiment which contrasts with that which those in work seem to feel: "I need clocks". It is interesting that two unemployed members of this small sample mentioned their tendency to now rely on their own innate sense of time - their ability to guess the (clock) time. Since they no longer have deadlines to meet, precise timing is not necessary. On the other hand, it is not seen as desirable, even by those in employment, to be continually ruled by the clock (to be a "clock-watcher") since this implies a lack of control over one's actions, a feeling of being under unrelenting pressure to gauge one's activities according to precise physical time-markers.

Another noteworthy feature of this selection of comments is the claim made by one of those in work that she is most aware of time when she feels she had too **little** of it, that is, when she feels she cannot achieve all her aims in the time available to her. This is the situation which tends to lead to "clock-watching". Conversely, one of the unemployed informants described here reported that she is most aware of time when she has too **much** of it, meaning during periods in which she feels she has few activities to carry out, and no goals to attain.

Thus it appears that the ideal situation lies somewhere between these two extremes, and involves a degree of temporal limitation in activities when it is seen as necessary, together with a measure of freedom from time constraints, allowing one to choose to some extent what one does when, and the speed with which one does it. If such a balance is struck, then time no longer seems to make itself over-apparent by its lack or by its surfeit; to not have to "think aboot" time too much appears to be the preferred state in Cauldmoss.

The language of time.

Tenses, phrases and sayings.

I have already mentioned in passing various ways in which the term "time" is used by villagers, but I would like here comment on general features of the way they refer to aspects of time, to select a number of very frequently encountered phrases involving "time" and to consider what they convey about informants' perceptions of this phenomenon.

I mentioned above the way in which villagers re-capture past events by presenting very detailed descriptions, as if the scene was unfolding once again before their eyes. The tenses used in such accounts reinforce this comtemporisation. Rather than simply saying, "Last Friday, Jim told me he lost his job, and Ah was shocked", a wife might well say: "He comes in last Friday night (just as Ah'm puttin' the dinner oot) an' says 'Well, that's it!' Ah says, 'Whit dae ye mean?', an' he says, 'Ah got ma cards the day'. Ah'm that shocked, Ah cannae' speak fer five minutes".

Notice the use of the expression "the day" [today] in the above quotation. Like most of the Scottish working-class, villagers also refer to tonight as "the night" (or rather "the nicht") and tomorrow as "the morn". They frequently talk about "the morn's morn" meaning at some point during the following morning, and specify "the morn's efternin" and "the morn's nicht". What I would call "the day after tomorrow" they describe as "the next again day". Another difference I noticed was that rather than ask, for example, "How old is she?", they usually say, "What age is she?". When discussing someone or something which is very old they comment: "That's some age, is it no'?"

The following is a list of some of the common expressions involving the word "time" which are used in Cauldmoss:

"What time is it?"
"That was/is/will be the time when "
"At that time "
"At one time"
"A good time"
"Sad times"
"Time for bed"
"Dinner time"
"In my ain time"

"My time at work"
"Ah dinnae' have time"
"It's just a matter o' time"
"It was a long time back"
"A short space o' time"
"All the time"
"At the same time"
"The first/last/next time"
"The only time"
"Gi'[ve] yerself time"
"It takes time"
"Take yer time"
"Time heals"
"Doing time"
"Spare time"

Many of these examples imply that time is a substance almost like a length of rope which is marked out and has chunks alloted to different purposes - the spatial representation of time is especially clear in references to a "short space of time" or "a long time back". As we saw, villagers may choose to correlate particular incidents or behaviour patterns in the "flow" of events with physical time-markers; "What time is it?" Alternatively, they link events and/or behaviour patterns with particular periods which recur at "set" calender or clock times, in which case shared knowledge of this standard correlation allows reference to physical time-markers to be omitted. Examples of this include reference to what occurred (occurs, or will occur) at "dinner time" or "bed time", at Hogmanay or at "the Trades" [the Trades Fair, the annual summer holiday]. Similarly, phrases like "my time at work" and "my spare time", because of the uniformity of working patterns in Cauldmoss, imply fixed "chunks" of objective time while revealing what it is that informants perceive as the key behavioural feature distinguishing such chunks from one another. The description of non-working time as "spare" underlines the centrality of work: hours not spent in employment are in a sense seen as superfluous.

The expression "in my ain time" highlights the commoditisation of time, the fact that villagers broadly categorise their activities in terms of those over which they feel they have control and those where their right to control is sold to another. It is a phrase which is also used, however, to specify the extent of self-directedness individuals experience within the (basically other-directed) employment situation; many informants said that they preferred to do specific work-tasks "at my ain pace", or "withoot the boss breathin'

doon yer neck". I briefly considered the notion of having insufficient time in the last section. The short list at the beginning of this section contains the phrase "Ah dinnae' have time", which (although the speaker does not specify that s/he lacks "enough time") is often used to describe a situation where one feels one has more things to do than can be achieved in the time available.

Although informants often declare, for example, "Ah've got so much tae dae - Ah'm fair run off ma feet" or "There's just one thing aifter anither - Ah dinnae' ken if Ah'm comin' or goin'!", they frequently choose to characterise the situation in terms of the temporal resources they feel they possess - or, to be more accurate, do **not** possess. To say one does not have time is to convey a sense of limitation in the extent to which one feels one can **choose** how one uses one's time; to lack such choice is, in a sense, to forfeit one's possession of time.

This phrase is also used by villagers to demonstrate their contempt for an individual or group: "Ah dinnae' have time for her/him/them at a'". Again this usage implies a recognition of time as a very basic commodity or resource which individuals can, in theory at least, choose to allocate as they please. To declare that one would withhold something as fundamental as time from someone else is an insult indeed, as is suggested in another expression commonly used in the village "Ah widnae' gi' her the time o' day!" (Although here the implication is that one would not carry out as slight an act as looking at one's watch). Conversely, to declare "Ah've got a lot o' time fer. . . " or "Ah've a'ways got time fer. . . " a person or a group is a mark of high respect. In these expressions time is something one "has" or does "not have", but it is time one has **for** someone or something.

Other well used phrases in Cauldmoss explicitly describe time as a resource to be given or taken. So a person inexperienced in a particular task is often advised to "take yer time over it" and someone who is trying to "get used tae" a new situation, or "tae get over" a traumatic event is often urged to "gi' yerself time". Here, the individual is being encouraged to forget for a while the "normal" limitations which govern behaviour; because the experience is new or particularly affecting they are granted a period in which they are not expected to obey conventions to the extent others must. ("Just take it gradually"; "Dinnae' **push** yerself too hard"; "Dinnae' worry aboot whit everyone else thinks - jist take it slowly"). I heard children being addressed in this way as they struggled to learn a new skill and also young wives trying to adjust to motherhood. It was said to those who had lost a close relative through death or divorce, and to the newly retired.

However, these periods during which special allowances are made are like any other

period in that they are circumscribed by temporal boundaries. As we saw earlier in this chapter, a grieving widow, having been urged to give herself time to adjust to her new way of life, will eventually be encouraged to "put the past behind" her and to "think aboot whit ye're goin' tae dae", to "get oot and start enjoyin' yersel' again". She must "get back tae normal" at some point and abandon "abnormal" time.

One of the rare instances in Cauldmoss in which time is portrayed as an active force rather than just a backdrop to life is in the expressions "It takes time tae get over/used tae" something and "Time heals", which are sometimes used to try and comfort and encourage distressed friends and relatives. In my early days in Cauldmoss, villagers occasionally tried to reassure me that I would eventually become known and "accepted" in the community: "It's just a matter o' time, hen". If time is the measurement of change, then it is likely that the passage of time will involve mental adjustments, the development of some ability to deal with the situation, especially as new events and experiences are occurring continuously. "Memories fade with time", one divorced woman told me, "an' the pain gradually eases". In this way "time" is used as a "cover-all", as a shorthand means of indicating all the different sorts of changes that occur within it - physical, social and psychological.

During my time in Cauldmoss there were several boys and men who were sent to young offenders' institutions, remand centres and prisons for a variety of reasons, usually theft or assault. (A small number of women were also convicted and usually merely fined - for example, for shoplifting, fraud and committing grievous bodily harm). Those who "got the jail" were alternatively described as "gettin' time" and, while they were actually **in** prison, as "daein' time". This is a very clear case in which a person's behaviour is evaluated in terms of physical time measurements, although in this case it is the authorities ("them") who do the evaluation. Villagers themselves, however, passed judgment on "the time" an offender **should** be given - their expectations being based on knowledge of sentences awarded to others in similar circumstances, and on their own evaluation of the crime involved. For example, when a man was jailed for two years for "interfering with" his girlfriend's three year old daughter, villagers were outraged: "He should o' been locked-up fer life **and** castrated!"

As well as mirroring the fact that the extent of wrong-doing is equated with "a stretch" of physical time in prison, the expression "daein' time" directs attention to the fact that, in jail, time **itself** tends to become apparent, to hang heavily, as the prison schedule dominates every aspect of life and leaves very little room for individual choice as to one's activities. Whereas in the example "time heals" time in itself is seen as a positive

entity, here time is negative; one could almost say "time punishes", and it punishes because it is, in this case, a period devoid of activities which individuals consider to be meaningful. The only real meaning in prison life is that provided by the timetable and one's movement towards one's release date.

Goffman (1961: 4) claims that time is the first dimension of the "encompassing tendencies" of all institutions in our society, and this is especially true in "total institutions", of which prisons are a prime example. As Zerubavel puts it, a prison is "a social milieu wherein people have almost no time during which they may be legitimately inaccessible" (1981: 143), and he compares this situation to that of soldiers and hospital patients. Evidence in support of Goffman's analysis and which backs up Zerubavel's claim for the crucial importance of schedule, especially within institutions but also in everyday life in our society, was provided by a villager who suffered from tuberculosis when she was younger:

> Ah a'ways mind when Ah wis young, Ah wis in hospital fer a year, an' hospital life is awfi' regimented. It's like clockwork - everyday the same thing. An' when Ah came back home, Ah used tae look at the clock an' say "Oh, it's time fer a bath", or "It's time fer a meal", or "It's time fer the telly tae go oan" ('cos then, when Ah wis fifteen, TV was only oan so many 'oors). An' it took me a long while tae get oot o' the habit o' it, at **hame**! Ah still thought aboot the routine in the hospital fer a lang while aifter it. So Ah think once ye're in a routine, it must take a while tae get oot o' it even though ye're no' in the same environment; ye still think aboot it.

Another method of "fixing" points in the continuum of time is to juxtapose events and behaviour patterns without correlating them with physical time-markers: "That was the time when. . . ". (Again, shared knowledge of these events and activities usually allows villagers to locate them using such markers if asked to do so, although there was often some disagreement as to the exact year, month, etc.). So, for example, the takeover of the village fish and chip shop by new owners led one group of informants to reminisce about how good the chips used to be when a now-retired villager ran the shop for a period "years ago". This led one of them to recall an incident involving the minister and another villager which occurred in the chip shop during that time: "That was the time when Minnie swore in front o' the minister". This, in turn, sparked off discussion of Minnie's other past "exploits": "Mind, at that time, she was **a'ways** fallin' oot wi' Mr. Jenkins [the minister] aifter he said he widnae'help her get one o' the new hooses" (Mr Jenkins also being a local councillor).

They then talked about the building of these "new hooses", an addition to the scheme, one woman saying "they'd no' lang been [put] up" when Minnie approached Mr. Jenkins for his help. She knew this to be the case because she could remember walking past the building

site "every morning" on her way to the bakery; "That was when Ah wis carryin' oor Billy, an' Ah wid take a notion fer a nice mutton pie, or a fresh roll an' ham". ("So it wid be before the bakery closed doon, tae, then", another member of the group pointed out). The woman told us that she met Minnie soon after she had had her baby, and she could remember Minnie telling her about the argument in the chip shop and then putting "some silver under the bairn's pillow" (in line with the tradition of placing coins in a new baby's pram to ensure her/him luck and prosperity). "At the time, Ah thought tae masel', 'Well, she's a kind soul, even if she **has** got a foul tongue!'"

The construction of this type of associational network endows each of its constituent elements with meaning. As individuals add more and more details to the story (by describing specific incidents and by pointing to temporal correlations), a collective framework is constructed into which villagers can fit their own particular memories. This framework is based on the rules of socio-temporal order I looked at in Chapter Three, and we can identify statements involving reference to temporal rate or spacing ("she wis **a'ways**", "every morning"), to sequence ("aifter he said", "that wis when"), and to duration ("they'd no' long been up"). Here, it is clear that precision, in terms of noting exact temporal synchronisation and duration, for example (with or without the aid of the calender) is not always necessary. It is sometimes sufficient to establish only roughly the relationship of events to one another, although it is usually important to establish the sequence of events.

The high level of frequency with which villagers used the phrase "at the same time" suggests the importance of establishing temporal correlations in Cauldmoss. I noticed that this expression also tended to be used by informants when wishing to qualify or contradict their previous statement. On the whole they seemed to prefer "At the same time" or "But then again" to alternatives such as "However", "On the other hand" or "Nevertheless".

According to this method of temporal fixing (the association of events), periods of time are predominantly described not in terms of their physical time labels, but in terms of what occurs within them. Nevertheless, villagers do not discuss incidents in a vacuum, as it were; they are often concerned to locate events within the medium of time. The phrases "a good time" and "sad times" emphasise the emotional state that predominates(d) in a section of the speaker's life, while couching this characterisation in temporal language. Since all events happen in time, "time" can be used as a blanket term, covering all the (non-specified) elements involved, the perception of all of which may be coloured by an overwhelmingly "sad" or "good" feeling, having its source in one or two particular events. It is perhaps worth pointing out that when villagers **do** organise their emotional

experiences in terms of neat units of physical time, the latter often seems to dominate. By this I mean that they frequently said, for example, "That was a bad year for oor family", when in fact, it emerged that what made it a "bad year" was one unfortunate event in February and another in May.

While matching up events with the cardinal number system of the calender does not usually preoccupy informants, they are often concerned with the ordinal arrangement of occurrences, with their position in a sequence. As I tried to show earlier when discussing Gala Day, reference to the "first/last/next time" an event occurs depends on the recognition of resemblance **and** uniqueness, and implies cyclicity in events. The fact that each incident is seen as a different case of the same type of time reinforces my interpretation of time as a system which provides interfaces between events and behaviours. Time may be seen as a means of reducing diverse experiences to a common medium, thus providing a basis on which to relate these various phenomena. In a sense, time in Cauldmoss is the "lowest common denominator" since all events and experiences may be divided by time. It is the role of time as a system of distinguishing and relating events which makes it such an important phenomenon in Cauldmoss.

Discussing the "first/second/third/last time" also, of course, implies a sense of development and progression, although in Cauldmoss, to be further along this line of development does not necessarily mean an event acquires extra significance. Quite the opposite is often true, and villagers frequently talk about "ma first pint", "oor first wain [child]", or "the first time we went oot taegether" (alternatively: "When we were first courtin'/wenchin'") as if these were special events. Then again (or as villagers would say, "At the same time"), a couple's **last** child is also often seen as "special", and villagers frequently point out that "the youngest yins a'ways ruined [spoilt]". Similarly, those men, who after an alcohol binge, decide to "go on the wagon" for a period, tend to speak in hallowed tones of "ma last pint". The first instance of a phenomenon signifies the beginning of a new experience or activity, and the last marks the end of the pattern of behaviour involved. So one informant told us about "the first man in Cauldmoss to keep chickens", while on another occasion a different person described himself as the only one still keeping hens, "the last in the village still daein' it". A woman and her husband who took Wight and I on a guided tour of the village and the surrounding area pointed out the ruins of an old mining row, saying these were the first houses in the area to have "flush loos", and they then took us to see the "last pit" in Cauldmoss.

Those inhabitants who do (or get) something before, or noticeably later, than everyone else are marked out for comment, which may be positive or negative depending on the

context, and is quite often both positive and negative. A man we met in one of the bars mentioned another villager in fairly admiring tones, saying the man was the first person in Cauldmoss to get a colour television. He then went on, however, to wonder suspiciously how the man in question managed to do this, since he was unemployed. "They're a' the same these bloody scroungers. They've got a life o' luxury!" he concluded bitterly.

What emerges from this brief overview of selected applications of the word "time" itself, is that in Cauldmoss this phenomenon acts as a unifying principle, as a thread which runs throughout events and experiences, so providing a basis on which these can be related to one another and made meaningful. As I have stressed, despite frequent reference to "time(s)", it remains almost an "invisible" medium for villagers, rather like the air they breathe; while air is a fundamental requirement for physical life, time forms the basis of their organisational activities - both social and psychological. Its role as the continuum linking all events and experiences remains implicit as it tends to be the events and experiences **themselves** which dominate informant's awareness. However, it seems that the significance of each of these events and experiences largely depends on contrasts and comparisons with other such events and experiences, contrasts and comparisons frequently made on the basis of the temporal dimension.

All this is not, of course, to claim that for events and experiences to be meaningful there **must** be reference to time. Not all comments and statements in Cauldmoss include this dimension, and yet they remain perfectly comprehensible and relevant to other villagers. However, there is not one page of my voluminous fieldnotes, and not one conversation I recorded in Cauldmoss, which does not contain some (often many) allusions to time. Effective communication between two individuals requires that both perceive more-or-less the same "order" in the world around them - that both agree to some extent as to the classification and evaluation of items they encounter. The socio-temporal structure is simply one aspect, albeit a very important one, of this common order.

I mentioned earlier the lack of precision in locating events in time which I often noticed in Cauldmoss. This is especially evident in informants' frequent use of expressions such as "never", "always", "all the time", "every time", and "the only time" when discussing occurrences and situations, where such absolutes do not accurately describe the rate or duration of the phenomenon under consideration. Examples include a mother condemning her son: "He **never** shuts the door" on his way out of the living room - when, in fact, I saw him doing it on several occasions. A man declared, "It's a'ways the same - every time ma sister rings up Ah'm either in the bath or havin' ma tea!"; I was present several times when she rang and he was doing nothing other than talking to me or watching television.

Such absolutes exaggerate the frequency with which such incidents occur in order to convey the speaker's subjective impression that in the overwhelming majority of cases what they describe is what actually occurs. Obviously expressions like "always" and "all the time" cannot usually be taken literally; "She's in ma hoose **a**' the time!" one woman complained of her neighbour, although this was clearly untrue. When she went on to say "Ah feel as though Ah've got nae time tae masel' at a' wi' her aboot", it became clear that what was **actually** continuous in the situation was the speaker's feeling of a lack of control over her own time, since she was in a constant state of fear of being interrupted by her neighbour. "She once came tae ma door at the back o' one o'clock at night, an' another time, at six o'clock in the mornin'".

Although villagers are fond of using temporal absolutes, they do make use of relative terms such as "often", "sometimes", "usually", "occasionally", "almost never", "most times", "nearly a' the time", "noo an' again", "rarely", "just aboot always", and "hardly a day/morning/evening/week/month/year goes by withoot. . .". Wanting to retain the rhetorical force of absolutes while at the same time wishing to achieve a degree of accuracy led individuals to make somewhat confusing assertions: "Ah a'ways usually get ma messages oan a Friday"; "We mostly never go roond tae see ma faither - he comes tae us", and "The big stores never very rarely keep any YOPers on". Alternatively, such apparent contradictions may be explained by suggesting that the speaker is referring to what we might call "times within times", to a norm which applies most of the time, but which has been ignored during particular periods in the past. More colourful expressions conveying the very slow tempo of particular events included "once in a blue moon" and "once in a month of Sundays".

Villagers rarely ask one another to specify in terms of physical time what a speaker means when s/he describes an event as happening "a long time back" or as lasting "jist a wee while". In the same way, they are not usually bothered by the fact that points in the past or future may be only vaguely defined: "At one time everybody helped one another in a wee village"; "It'll come tae a time when machines'll hiv' taken over every jobe". Since villagers tend to share roughly the same time horizons and to have common expectations as to the appropriate duration (as well as the rate, sequence, location and sychronisation) of activities, it is not usually necessary for them to ask one another for clarification. A "proper" visit to a friend, especially one seen only occasionally, ought to last several hours so that to complain that the visitor stayed "jist a wee while" can be taken to mean anything between half an hour and two hours. Those who do not stay for even half an hour are likely to be accused of coming "straight in an' oot again!" or of only staying "fer two minutes!". Units of physical time are often used metaphorically in Cauldmoss in this way

in order to stress a point. "Ah'll jist be two ticks/seconds/minutes" are all aimed at persuading the listener that the speaker "willnae' be lang" in doing something.

In Cauldmoss the expressions "one or two", but more frequently, "two or three", are often used to suggest a small quantity or number of a particular thing. Talking about his night out in one of the bars an informant said "It was gey [very] quiet in the Hotel last nicht; jist two or three folk in", although he went on to relate conversations he had had there with at least five other men. Villagers repeatedly refer to events which had happened "two or three years/months/weeks/days/hours/minutes ago", or which **would** happen "in a couple of hours/days/months", and so on. On only one occasion did I overhear anyone in Cauldmoss challenge another over such imprecision. Wanting to know exactly when a friend had called in her absence, a daughter could not accept her father's version of events: "What does **that** mean, 'twa or three 'oors back?' Wis it at dinner time, or nearer when ye hiv' yer tea? Ye're a'ways talkin' aboot 'twa or three' - whit does it **mean**?!" A similar expression, and one which is used habitually in Cauldmoss, is "the other day/night/week" which is meant to indicate relatively recent events occurring at non-specified physical times.

Villagers also share an understanding that what counts as "a lang time", for example, varies according to the context in which this description is used. When a child says "It's a lang time since we went tae the pictures" they recognise that the period to which s/he is referring is likely to be very much shorter than it would be had the same statement been made by an older person. When a woman claims, "It took me **ages** tae dae the washin' the day" the subjective duration implied is different from that involved in expressions such as "It was ages before Ah got over ma mither dyin'".

In some cases non-specificity is desirable since it allows villagers flexibility in their plans: "Let's ha' a run up tae Glencoe sometime this summer" a neighbour suggested to Wight and I several times. It enables them to talk about distant goals when they are not sure how they will achieve them: "Ah'll get this hoose exactly as Ah want it one day if it's the last thing Ah dae", another informant told me. After her marriage broke up the same woman joked, quoting the old song, "Some day ma prince will come!"

Having considered the imprecision which characterises many of the references to time I noted in Cauldmoss, I should point out that there were also many occasions on which villagers were at pains to use **precise** physical time measurements (admittedly sometimes "rounded up" or down for added effect) in order to explain their evaluation of a particular situation and to reinforce their comments. Since, as I have said before, they tended to

discuss that which challenges, rather than satisfies, the norm, their reference to particular time measurements only makes sense in terms of common expectations as to the appropriate rate, sequence, location, duration and synchronisation of events and activities.

So, for example, when informants complain that they had been kept waiting for an interview at the DHSS offices for "an 'oor an' a ha'f", or had to stand in a bus queue for "forty five minutes" after the bus had broken down, these incidents stand out as a cause for comment because villagers believe that one should not be expected to wait for such "a lang time" in these situations under normal conditions. "A quarter o' an' 'oor is one thing, but no' an' 'oor an' a ha'f!" The first case is an especially interesting one since informants, while condemning the long waiting periods they "a'ways" experience at the DHSS, told me that "Folk go there **expectin'** tae be kept waitin' noo - it happens so often". As one woman pointed out, "At the bru they think they're payin' fer yer time", so you are not allowed to complain, even though you feel it is wrong.

Another informant, Sarah, provided a particularly good example of the way in which shared assumptions about the location and duration of events are used to "make sense" of an occurrence (see also the section on storytelling in Chapter Six). She told me how one Sunday lunchtime "a couple o' months ago", she and her husband were going into one of the bars in Cauldmoss when another villager, Betty, rushed through the door in front of them. Betty's husband was sitting there having a pint, and Betty shouted at him "Get up the road, **now**!" He left with Betty. Sarah recalled that at the time she had thought it was odd because it only about two o'clock when this happened. Since the pub does not open until half past twelve "on a Sunday", she reasoned that Betty's anger could not be due to the fact that her husband had been in the pub "fer 'oors" (had this been the case, there would be grounds for a legitimate grievance, especially if a wife had Sunday dinner waiting at home, for example). Sarah and her husband decided that the only possible explanation for Betty's apparently unwarranted action was that her husband had not been home all the previous night. This was in fact the case, as Sarah's husband discovered the day after the incident when he was given a lift from the town by Betty's husband, and the latter bragged of his adventure.

Another nice example of the way in which villagers used precise time measurements to evaluate behaviour occurred in the tale of "Lizzie's bog", versions of which were told to us by a number of inhabitants. This centred on a gruesome murder - a favourite topic of discussion in Cauldmoss - which seems to have occurred around the turn of the century; most of those recounting the tale did not specify a particular time, introducing it instead with the phrase "A good few years back", or something similar. It is worthwhile, I think,

including the details of the version told to me by a neighbour since it includes so many references to time.

Big Joe Cuthberson had a farm midway between Cauldmoss and what is now a sizable town about six miles from the village. (The town "wis just a village then, no' like it is noo", my neighbour pointed out). Big Joe's housekeeper had a daughter, Lizzie, who "bided" [stayed] with her grandmother in the town "through the week", and stayed at the farm at weekends. She continued to do this after she left school, and she found a job in the town. When Lizzie was only seventeen, Big Joe got her pregnant. "Folk said to him, 'Whit are ye goin' tae dae?' So he strangled her - that's whit he did!" He threw her body in a bottomless pond in the peat bog surrounding the farm, and then drove his pony and trap at top speed to the pub in Cauldmoss so he would have an alibi when the girl's disappearance was noticed. "Sure enough", the murder was discovered when Lizzie's legs were seen sticking out of the water. Everybody knew it was Big Joe who had done it, but the police could not prove it. He claimed he had come to Cauldmoss by a particular road, and the fact that his horse had been seen facing in the corresponding direction outside the bar was accepted as evidence of this claim by the police. He pointed out that he could not have killed Lizzie and then got to Cauldmoss by the time he did, and, after timing the route he claimed to have used, the police agreed with him.

After holding him in jail for six weeks, they had to let Big Joe go. But folk in Cauldmoss said amongst themselves that he had the fastest pony in the county, and that it had been white with sweat when he arrived in Cauldmoss that day because he had driven it so hard. Moreover, it was possible that he had actually used a shorter route, crossing over farmland, and had then turned his horse to make it look like he had come by the road. "Later" the man who was in charge of distributing parish assistance wrote "a book" (actually more like a pamphlet) about the crime, which was sold "aroond the hooses in Cauldmoss for 9d a time".

To finish this section, I will mention two expressions I heard which are especially indicative of the way in which villagers evaluate an activity or event by measuring it against another. The first was used by a number of villagers when describing a well-known figure in the village just after he died: "He worked fer **years** to get that Bowling Club House built, and he only lived **two weeks** aifter it was finished". The second expression was used, for example, by one woman to convey her distrust of a neighbour: "He'd buy an' sell ye before ye get tae the gate!".

"Regular as clockwork."

In the section on villagers' reflections on time I quoted a man who said he eats his meals "regular as clockwork", and I have suggested that regularity in behaviour is an important feature of life in Cauldmoss. I also noted, however, that villagers vary in the degree to which they feel that they possess "a routine", "regular habits" or "set times", and moreover that their assessment does not always appear to correspond with the actual amount of regularity in their lives. In this section I want to take the expression "regular as clockwork" (one used frequently in Cauldmoss) and ask how far it reflects actual regularity in behaviour.

In theory, the compilation of time budgets, where informants are asked to record their hourly activities over a period of several days, could provide quantitative data against which to check villagers' claims and our observation as to the regularity of their activities. However, in our case, although we encouraged informants to complete time sheets for several days running, most returned only one or two sheets - insufficient evidence on which to carry out a rigorous analysis. Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that most informants filled in the sheets in a hurry at the end of the day when there is a temptation to put down what **seems** appropriate rather than to carefully detail one's actual activities. (See Appendix Three for more discussion of the time budget survey, and Chapter Six for an analysis of routine in the lives of different types of villagers as suggested by the results of our second questionnaire.)

However, the fact that very many villagers appeared to have - in mind at least - a clear and established timetable, allowing them to "dash off" their sheet in this way indicates that the degree of regularity in many of their lives is high. My observation (and also the results of our second questionnaire) suggests that this is indeed the case, although the circumstances of each household determine the degree of routine it displays. Those households which revolve around adults who are in employment and children who are at school have various deadlines that must be met day-by-day. It also tends to be these families whose "free time" involves regular commitments; since free time is limited, it is often fairly well organised. At the other extreme, couples where neither works, especially where there are no (or only very young) children, do not need, for example, to set the alarm clock each night, to be at the bus stop "on time" in the morning, to ensure that the kids "arenae' late fer the school", and so on. To generalise very broadly, the extent of routine exhibited by those in this position seems to increase in line with age, or, rather, in line with the degree of experience household members have of employment. While young unemployed households tend to have relatively few "set times fer things", retired couples

often make a conscious effort to maintain a schedule similar to that observed when the husband worked.

In terms of the particular phrase under consideration, one retired man told me that in the winter months at least, he goes to play cards and dominoes every afternoon at two o'clock "regular as clockwork", and another man used the same phrase to describe his son's weekly visits. In most cases the speaker's intention is to indicate that an event occurs at a "set" clock-time at evenly spaced intervals (see the comments of the ex-TB patient I noted in the previous section). Sometimes, however, its reference to the clock is taken less literally and it is used to describe the inevitability of a particular occurrence. For example, an informant complained that on the rare occasions when she could settle down to watch "something good on the telly", her neighbour was "bound tae walk in - it happens regular as clockwork!" The first event seemed to automatically spark off the second, just as the movement in one part of a clock's mechanism produces movement in another part. In fact this description could also apply to the first usage of this expression, except that there, the initial "event" is a particular clock or calender time. What these two different applications demonstrate is that regularity often does, but need not, rest on the correlation between events or behaviour and evenly spaced physical time-markers - the cycles between recurrent sets of circumstances may vary widely. As Michael Young puts it "intermittent cycles can be sequence locked . . . and they can also be time-locked" (1988: 7).

Bearing in mind my observation about the apparent importance of routine for the elderly in Cauldmoss, the phrase "regular as clockwork" tends to be used most frequently by older informants. It is used, for example, to reinforce their claim that in the past things were simpler - "Ye knew where ye were then" - folk lived more straightforward and predictable lives. Discussing the owner of one the last private pits in Cauldmoss, an old woman told us that the man used to run a coal delivery service too; "Ye used tae be able tae put the kettle on by his roonds, . . . he wis as regular as clockwork", she said approvingly. This is an interesting description since it implies not only that the coal man followed a pattern closely tied to the clock, but that the speaker did too, so that teatime for her coincided each day with his passage by her house.

In fact, this type of predictability is still apparent in the village, and again it tends to be noted most often in regard to the older inhabitants. "Ye can tell the time by her", one woman told me, describing how her elderly neighbour left the house at ten o'clock every morning "rain or shine" to go for her messages. A more widely used alternative to "rain or shine" is the expression "day in an' day oot", or, when discussing more widely spaced recurring events, "week/year in and week/year oot". Variations on this theme are the

expressions: "Everyday and every week", "seven days/nights a week", and "fifty two weeks a year". Again it is important to note that these descriptions are not always meant to be taken literally, but are often used rhetorically to convey a strong sense of regularity and repetition. This is reinforced by the fact that these phrases are usually prefaced by, for example, "It's jist the very same . . ."

That villagers are very much aware of the patterns and predictability in one anothers' behaviour is demonstrated in comments such as that made by one teenager. He told us that hanging around at the crossroads in the centre of the village, as teenagers (and older unemployed and retired men) often did, they can "tell" where each person they see is heading: to which of the bars; to the betting office; to one of the clubs; to the shops or post office; to call on a friend or relative. Just two days later Wight was describing our research to a group of women in the village library. They pointed out how "interknit" and "closed" the community is, and how everyone "knows about" everyone else there. One said that in the morning she meets men standing at the crossroads who tell her all she did the day before and can tell her everything she will do the next day. Apart from the practical necessity of meeting particular deadlines each day, the knowledge that any deviation from her/his accustomed pattern of activities is likely to arouse comment in others, tends to discourage innovative behaviour - either doing new things or doing old things at the "wrong" time.

Often, informants mentioned how a change in their routine had caused concern in their friends and neighbours. When an elderly woman failed to hang out her washing one fine Monday morning, her neighbour realised something must have happened and went round to find the old lady had fallen and hurt herself. On more than one occasion, after delaying an informant with a questionnaire, interview or just a chat, I walked up the road with her/him, where s/he would be greeted by another villager: "Ah dinnae' usually see you at this time - whit are ye up tae? (laugh)", or "Ah ken ye usually go doon a wee bit earlier, is everythin' a' right?", or simply "Ye're late the day!"

The conformity and conservatism in Cauldmoss which I have noted several times already is reflected in the expression "what ye're used tae", which is one frequently employed by villagers. The Oxford English Dictionary states that "used to" means "having become familiar with by habit or custom", and since habit and custom are such an important aspect of life in Cauldmoss it it not surprising to find inhabitants declaring, for example, "Everyone's used to the lifestyle here" or "It's jist what ye're used tae, ken?".

When villagers talked of folk in Cauldmoss being "used tae workin'" or "used tae gettin' up early", or of them wanting to carry on the way they are because that is what they are

used to, one recognises the sense of security attached to what is familiar through habit. Such conventionality even encompasses elements of unconventionality. Just as for everyone in Cauldmoss "normal time" includes, or rather surrounds, periods of what Martin (1981) terms "framed liminality" in which abnormal behaviour is acceptable and even expected, so the group itself contains certain individuals whose "weirdness" (as villagers put it) is not merely tolerated, but is a positive feature of life in this community. In both cases, exceptional behaviour is sanctioned only when it does not threaten to undermine the structure as a whole, or cause damage to others. The man who goes out for a drink just once or twice a week and who occasionally happens to get "a bit carried awa'" tends to be seen as "jist enjoyin' hi'self", as long as he avoids "botherin' " anyone else, and as long as his infrequent excesses do not involve any deprivation on the part of his family. Similarly, the woman who wore a fur coat and slippers, "all year roond, mind!", to wander the streets talking to herself was described as "a harmless wee soul really", even though she committed one of the worst sins in villagers' eyes by never greeting anyone or returning their "hello".

When talking to Wight and I about these types of aberrations, informants pointed out "**We're** used tae it - it doesnae' bother us, ken?" They recognise that such behaviour might surprise and shock us, but, for example, when passing a drunk man singing loudly in the street, or after listening to the woman whose "every other word is a sweary word", villagers reassured us "Ye'll get used tae him/her eventually!" Their behaviour is seen as "colourful" and they themselves are "real characters". Although their actions are unconventional, they are consistent in their unconventionality so that "At least ye know where ye stand wi' her", or "We ken fine whit tae expect from him when he's got a drink or twa in him . . . he disnae' really go over the score".

Discussing someone who is "well liked" in Cauldmoss usually involves pointing out that s/he is "a'ways the same", or "s/he never varies" or "s/he disnae' change". Conversely, villagers condemn individuals who cannot be relied upon to be consistent: "Ye jist never know where ye are wi' her; one day she'll stop and speak tae ye nae bother, and the next day she'll walk straight past ye".

The importance of the repetition or endurance of events and actions in Cauldmoss is further demonstrated by another way in which the phrase "used tae" is employed by villagers. The imperfect tense, which is used with extreme frequency, denotes the fact that although a phenomenon no longer occurs, "at one time" it happened regularly or was an ongoing state of affairs. So, for example, an old man told us "Ah used tae stay in the hoose ye're in the noo an' Ah used tae go poachin' then" (the flat was near the woods). Another informant

pointed out "there used tae be a village" at a place just outside Cauldmoss where there is now just a farm. A woman told me: "Fer a lang time, Ah used tae work two nights a week at the Community Centre. But Ah willnae' dae it noo - the kids are too cheeky". Another admitted that her husband "used tae get into trouble when he wis younger; then he got kinda' religious". Sometimes, informants stated, for example, "It used tae be that folk made their ain fun; nooadays, they don't know what they want".

Obviously, it is not always the case that what "used tae be" is regarded by villagers as being better than what now is, although this is often their opinion. In general it appears that they feel most change is for the worse; "Stick tae what ye ken" seems to be the philosophy to which most informants adhere. Clear conventions mean that much can be left unsaid, and that it is usually unnecessary to agonise over, or even to think very much at all in some cases, about one's actions; everyone knows what is appropriate and expected. This does not mean that there are no subtleties and nuances in individuals' behaviour. It is customary to give one's parents a substantial gift to mark their silver wedding anniversary, for example, but their children must still decide exactly what to give.

It does mean, however, that villagers can communicate meaningfully with one another (and sometimes - rather frustratingly - with us) using a "shorthand" method which involves reference to "Jist the usual", or "The same as normal" or "Jist like everybody else". Asked, for example, how often he and his wife go out for a meal, one man replied "About as often as most folk, I suppose". In fact, his estimate of "two or three times a year" did match the frequency reported by many couples in reply to our second questionnaire, though there were others who ate out much more regularly and some who only did so "at weddings an' things like that".

The conventional correlation between activities and physical time markers in Cauldmoss (the socio-temporal framework itself), means that both activities themselves and time periods may be measured or evaluated in terms of one another. The meaning of a particular event or activity often depends on the time at which it occurs, or which it takes up, while different units of objective time assume significance according to the context, to the activity occurring within them. People seeing a man leaving the house early in the morning and returning around tea-time invariably assume he has been out working. This eight hour work period is seen as very different from other eight hour periods which this man spends sleeping, sitting in front of the television, or "mindin' the bairns" [looking after the children] for example. The desirability of a job is very much assessed in terms of its regularity and permanence, as well as the rate of pay which (according to the type of work and worker involved) is measured by the hour, day, week, month or year. Those who

can only manage to find irregular work "on the side" talk of "jist daein' a shift noo an' again".

In terms of measurement, this type of correlation allows villagers to use activities to gauge the position or passage of physical time, as we saw in the case of the elderly woman who goes to the shops at a "set time" each morning, for example. A housewife spoke of a visitor arriving "just as Ah wis puttin' oan the dinner" and leaving when it was ready: "She wouldnae' stay an' hiv' her dinner, so she couldnae' o' been here mair than ha'f an 'oor". As I have mentioned, the duration of an activity is often assessed purely in terms of other activities and without reference to physical time; when I admired the knitting an informant was doing she told me, "Ah jist dae it when Ah can, ken? Ah keep pickin' it up an' puttin' it doon, say, jist fer as long as it takes the immerser to heat the water. Ah dinnae' like tae be idle. Then Ah'll go an' dae the washin'".

Men often use the rate at which they consume alcohol to measure the passage of time, although this a complex relationship. From their comments it seems that many drink their first pint in an evening's "session" more quickly than subsequent ones, so that individual pints cannot be equated with homogeneous units of objective time. Individuals have an average drinking rate, however, which they often assume other men share, so they can say, for example, "Ah wisnae' lang in the pub . . . Ah only had two pints, ken?" In fact, I saw some variation in their consumption rates and villagers themselves commented on the way that young lads, the unemployed and pensioners "sit there wi' the same pint a' night", behaviour which challenges conventional drinking patterns.

There is a subgroup of "serious" or "heavy" drinkers in Cauldmoss, men who sacrifice some respectability in the eyes of the community as a whole but who gain prestige among other men because of their ability to spend large amounts of money in the pub and to "take" or "hold" substantial quantities of alcohol. For them in this context, the significant unit of time is a day, or at least a night, their ideal being to devote an entire day to drinking, and success being measured in the number of drinks taken in that period. One of the "hard men" in the village was reputedly able to drink twenty pints a day, and he and his pals would talk about going out "makin' a day o' it". Since the pubs are open almost all day in Scotland, it is possible to do just this, with breaks to go home, eat and have a "kip". (I should point out that there is another "group" of males in the village whose drinking - which tends to be focused in binges lasting weeks rather than just the odd evening, day or weekend - earns them the label "alcoholics". Because they rarely work, either in a "proper" job or on the side, and because their drinking prevents them from fulfilling their duty to their family, they are not "big men", but "wasters".)

A concept which is somewhat similar to the idea of things being as "regular as clockwork" is that of a "body-clock". Villagers sometimes use this expression to refer to an internal mechanism which, for example, wakes them up at the same time every morning, reminds them to eat at particular times of day, and makes them want to sleep at work when they first switch over from day- to night-shift. Talking about her own "body-clock" one woman said she had heard that all the cells in the body are replaced every seven years. She wondered how the new cells know the old pattern (an interesting question, and one addressed by Young [1988], who suggests that the ability of cells to self-replicate may help to explain our concern with habit). This informant joked that she was looking forward to having "a whole new body" at the end of the seven years.

Fate, luck and superstition.

Accepting the unknown: "One day at a time, sweet Jesus."

Obviously, different units of time assume significance in different circumstances - minutes are important when someone has a bus to catch, years when one looks back on one's life. To take just one unit, the day is a period to which villagers frequently refer, and not simply in a literal sense. It is often used almost synecdochately, as in the expression "at the end of the day", where others might say, for example, "in the end" or "when all is said and done": "At the end o' the day, it's the bairns they need tae think o' - whit is best fer them", said one woman discussing the unstable relationship of a couple living nearby. Similarly, a person or an object which is perceived as having deteriorated in some way is described as having "seen better days".

Describing their subjective lack of time, many individuals spoke of not having "enough 'oors in the day", while several talked about saving "for a rainy day", whether this was accumulating money, or, as with one woman, food in the freezer. As one unemployed man said, somewhat bitterly: "We've a'ways put a bit by fer a rainy day, an' noo it's here". In Cauldmoss, life seems to be perceived very much in terms of a succession of days, perhaps due to the fact that "one day is much the same as any other" as several informants put it. There may be variations at the weekends and holiday periods, but most people emphasise the "humdrum" or "routine" nature of their activities and experiences.

In reply to the question "How long have you lived in Cauldmoss?", many villagers said "All ma days", reinforcing the impression that in a way the day is for them a microcosm of

the whole of one's life. Another relevant expression of which villagers are fond and which I had never heard before was: "Ah niver go tae bed the same day Ah get up!" (said as if this was something shocking). Since each day is for them a clearly defined unit, which begins and ends in sleep, it appears that to challenge this is behaviour worthy of comment. (Another related phrase, which seems unique to this part of Scotland, is the description "an early/late bedder", the counterpart to the term "early/late riser", which villagers also used).

Folk in Cauldmoss frequently talk about "day-to-day living" or about how "days just come and go". On many occasions they urged one another to "take the/each day as it comes" or to "take it a/one day at a time". My neighbours enjoyed the country-and-western classic, "One Day at a Time", and villagers who "get up" to perform at concerts, "sing songs", weddings and "get togethers" often choose this song, approving of its overall sentiment, despite their apparent lack of religious beliefs.

Chorus:

One day at a time, sweet Jesus,
That's all I'm asking from you,
Just give me the strength
To do everyday
What I have to do.
Yesterday's gone, sweet Jesus,
And tomorrow may never be mine.
Help me today,
Show me the way,
One day at a time

This present-centredness seems to spring, as Martin suggests (see Chapter Two above) from a subjective lack of control over anything outside their immediate sphere. I shall consider this claim in regard to accumulating money and forward planning in Chapter Six. For now, I want to look more generally at what such comments reveal about villagers' philosophy of life. As I have mentioned, although there is variation in the extent to which individuals plan ahead, with some demonstrating more interest in the future than others, on the whole villagers tend to believe that what lies ahead is largely outwith their control. As I indicated, formal religion no longer plays a major role in the lives of many inhabitants. For them, the "super powers" determining their fate and that of the world as a whole are earthly ones - the United States and the Soviet Union. Governments, capitalists and technologists are seen as exerting a very strong influence over everyone's lifestyle. As one man said:

It's wrong that so few can affect the future of so many, but that's what government's

> all aboot. They can say "start a nuclear war tomorrow". There are many who're anti-nuclear noo, but they can't do much to change things . . . Technology's increasing that fast they're needing less people all the time to do the same work, yet the population's increasing all the time. So unless something drastic happens, unemployment must go up . . . It's a worldwide problem . . . Some [people] just live from day to day; that's what I'm doing the noo.

Although there is little direct mention of God in Cauldmoss, many villagers seem to subscribe to the notion that in theory there is a Higher Being or at least some sort of ultimate justice governing human affairs: "There are higher hands at work". This accords with the Calvinist doctrine of predestination to some extent in that though one does not know one's fate, one has a duty to try to lead as "good" a life as possible. It differs, however, in that many villagers believe in some kind of retributive mechanism which can operate during the course of one's life, obviating the need for reference to eschatological issues to a large extent. The focus is very much on the individual's lifetime and death rather than on her/his circumstances **after** death. Villagers tend to prefer to concentrate on that which happens within time rather than on "the eternal", which may be due to the emphasis which is laid on temporality in modern society.

The advice "Just take each day as it comes" suggests a combination of both fatalism and pragmatism. Villagers believe that "Ye niver know whit's roond the next corner" or " . . . whit's comin' next", but that, "Ye should jist get on and make the best o' things the noo". Another, this time clearly fatalistic saying of which villagers are fond is: "Whit's fer ye, won't go by ye". This reference to a wise and powerful force guiding individuals' lives is used to comfort both those undergoing painful experiences (death, sickness, unemployment, and so on) and those who despair that "nothing ever seems tae happen in ma life". Although villagers themselves do not analyse such sayings,the implication is that one gets what one needs or what is due to one, even though it may not always be what one wants. Several times I heard informants declare that an event or a situation was "fated" (or more accurately "fatet"). Examples include the occasion when a young man's girlfriend had her baby later on the very same day in which his mother died suddenly of a heart attack, and the time when a woman, whose adult child had died, was soon after unexpectedly re-united with her other child, who she had given up for adoption many years earlier.

The co-incidence of such related occurrences, their proximity in time, is seen as too close to be mere "chance", and must have been directed by a greater power. A belief in the benevolence of this power inspires the notion that "as one door closes, another one opens", a saying that villagers use to encourage one another to "look on the bright side". As one woman told me, she had found it very painful to come to terms with her divorce, but then

saw the truth in the saying "as one door closes. . . ", when she realised she was now free to embark upon a new and more satisfying relationship; "it seems like it was meant to be that way, ken, even though ye dinnae' know it at the time".

This power could also be vengeful. One informant, who actually used the words "higher justice" and "divine retribution" told me about the two men who set fire to the Catholic chapel in Cauldmoss (an incident I described in Chapter Four). Soon after, he said, one of them was killed in the Ibrox disaster when a stand collapsed at the football stadium. (The other was punished by the temporal powers; he "did time" in jail for his crime).

Related to this is the belief articulated by a number of informants that it is not always necessary to seek to avenge oneself on someone who has done one harm. This mysterious retributive mechanism will ensure that the wrongdoer will suffer at some point in the future in just the same way as her/his victim suffers now. Again this is an idea which is fundamental to Christianity - "as one sows, so shall one reap" - and many other world religions (notably Hinduism and Buddhism's concept of karma) - although villagers did not point to its occurrence in organised religion.

Alternatively, some individuals point out that one need not worry if it seems that one's persecutor has evaded punishment for the present, since it is in the nature of things that one will meet up with her/him again one day when one is better able to carry out one's revenge oneself. Our neighbour Rab, for example, told us that once, after "a long stretch" in jail, he decided not to go back to "thievin'". He said that before going to prison he had left a large amount of (stolen) money in the keeping of a lawyer, and so he decided to get this back and live off it. He tried the lawyer's office and his home, but the man had disappeared with Rab's money, as well as that of other clients. Rab said he thought the lawyer was now in England, but he had decided not to go looking for him, even though he could probably find him, because he remembered his grannie's advice. She told him that he will meet the man again some day - "That's whit happens, ken? Maybe he'll be beggin' in the street; I'll toss him 2p and ask for 1p change (laugh)."

Another aspect of the fatalism which seems to predominate in Cauldmoss is villagers' belief that every person has "a time set oot fer them", that is, a predetermined time to die. In an attempt to comfort them, this was repeated to the parents of a young woman who had "taken her own life" When a man who was very seriously injured in a car crash managed to survive, villagers told him: "Ye've been a lucky loddie - yer time mustnae' be up yet".

What I found in Cauldmoss was a complex of ideas which allocate responsibility to different quarters: to oneself, and to one's earthly and "heavenly" rulers. The overall impression I got in Cauldmoss was one of subjective limitation. One should do the best one can, recognising that one's actions are circumscribed by "them" (the Government and "big business", and so on), and knowing that ultimate control over life and death rests with an unseen force, which sometimes directs events in a way which appears rational, and at other times behaves mysteriously. The lack of attention to eternal rewards and the emphasis placed on the sufferings of life (unemployment, poverty, illness and death) produce a generally negative picture. Yet there is a freedom in such limitation, too; individuals do not need to bear the full weight of responsibility for their situation, they do not have to ensure that the wrongdoer is punished, and they can rest assured that they will receive what they "need" or what is due to them (according to a higher wisdom). In a way, this type of present-centred approach is comforting. It was, of course, one which was recommended by Christ, although the only person in Cauldmoss I heard actually referring to Christ's advice, "Consider the lilies. . . " was, not surprisingly, the minister.

Having uncovered the fatalism which permeates the ideology of the inhabitants of Cauldmoss, one must then ask how far these sayings actually influence individuals behaviour. If one were to live one's life totally in accordance with them, one would not seek to influence events at all, but would live "from hand to mouth", would not make use of medicine to treat illness, for example, and would never seek to punish wrongdoers. Obviously, this is not the case in Cauldmoss; villagers do plan ahead and do worry about the future; they do rely on medical services to prolong life, and react with sorrow and anger when someone close to them dies. They most certainly do seek to defend "me and mine" against harm, and they do react aggressively to anyone threatening or causing harm to them - usually with words and sometimes with fists and even (very occasionally) with shotguns. They are, however, frequently frustrated; those with few financial resources find it increasingly difficult to commit themselves to future projects, for example.

As I indicated in Chapter Four, informants' attitudes towards "the authorities" - primarily benefit officers, council staff, doctors and hospitals, and the police and courts - is often one of disappointment and cynicism, and they all have their favourite "horror stories" and complaints to air. The sayings I have just considered serve to temper this frustration, to reconcile individuals to the fact that their strivings often come to nothing in the end, and to discourage them from challenging "the authorities" to some extent.

There were a small number of informants who were more positive and who were keen to discuss in greater detail their philosophy of life and/or their understanding of the nature

of this mysterious "higher power". After telling me that "my philosophy is 'Whit's for ye, won't go by ye'", one man explained that he believed it is important to "accept what happens in life", and not to panic when things seem to go wrong. For example, when he was younger, he told me, he worked in a factory in a nearby town for ten years.

Then one morning in 1956, the company announced a large number of redundancies. His mates began rushing around, very excited and upset. But he just sat in the canteen and calmly worked out what he would do. By the afternoon he had set up two interviews for jobs elsewhere. "By the end of the very same day" on which he was laid off, he said proudly, he had a new job in the police force. (A statement demonstrating the way in which the timing of events gives the events themselves added significance. He went on to say that he worked for the police for twenty seven years, up until just a couple of months ago, in fact.) He felt that strong religious belief helped a person to develop this "attitude of acceptance". It was clear in his case, at least, that this attitude did not mean simply giving up in the face of difficulty, but rather it involved taking what comes and turning it to one's advantage.

During the course of an interview with a young unemployed man, an argument developed between him and his wife and sister-in-law after I asked him if he ever thought about dying. I shall quote a sizable chunk of it here since it encapsulates both the majority view in Cauldmoss described above, as well as as the interviewee's more idiosyncratic beliefs, about the nature of God, fate, and so on.

Husband: When ye die, ye die. Ah don't believe yer time's set oot fer ye. Ye're jist put on earth an' naebody's got a **set** time tae live their ain life. God did say each person can live their ain life in ony way they want. People die o' cancer an' people turn roond an' say they were **supposed** tae die o' it. Ah don't believe that at all. If someone gets knocked doon it's because they were at the wrong place at the wrong time - that's a' . . . Ah dinnae' think ye should think aboot it. It depresses ye mair. "Hoo lang am Ah goin' tae live tae? When will Ah die?" If ye thought aboot it fer lang, ye'd crack up. Just live each day as it is; if ye die, ye die. Lets just hope it's unpainful.

Me: Do you ever think about what might happen to you afterwards?

Husband: Whit's the point in thinkin' ye're goin' tae a heaven or a hell? Ah mean ye don't know. Ah mean a lot o' people say their time's fatet. Somebody dies - "Aye, that wis meant fer that tae happen". Ye cannae' say. If somebody gets **murdered**, that wisnae' meant fer them tae get murdered.

Wife: What's for ye won't go by ye!

Husband: That's what **she** says. Maist folk say that. Ye cannae' turn roond an' say - somebody comes oot an' rapes a lassie an' then kills her - "That was meant to be".

Wife's sister: It wis, son. That wis her number up!

Husband: But if God ha' that attitude naebody wid wint tae worship Him. Who'd wint tae worship somebody who left somebody tae die that way?

Wife: No. God tried . . . when He telt everybody on the earth except . . . whit was it? . . . Ships . . .

Me: Noah?

Wife: Aye, Noah's Ark. Everybody'll die except him an' his family. An' his sons had wains an' they became bad again. He destroyed the world because o' Adam an' Eve, an' all their carry on.

Husband (to me): Are ye listening?! (laughs) . . . So who actually decides that a person gets murdered?

Wife: That's why woman ha' pain gi'in birth an' everythin'. God says "Thou shalt suffer".

Husband: So God says tae somebody, "Ye'll suffer 'cos somebody's gonna come up an' kill ye". Why dae ye worship somebody who thinks things like that? Then again, who's got the right tae say Catholics or Protestants arenae' right? Who's got the right tae say Hindus arenae right? Or all yer other religions?

He went on to speculate at some length that there may in fact be one God who is perceived differently by different people and in different religious traditions.

Husband: It's like that game, ken . . . whit is it called? . . . "Chinese Whispers" - everyone gets a different message!

Wife's sister: Just like in Cauldmoss! [A reference to the way gossip spreads in the village].

Husband: The way Ah see it, is it gonna help ye tae believe it [in God]? Is it puttin' money in yer pocket?

(There then followed a wide ranging discussion, covering in quick succession, the religious scruples of a character in "Coronation Street", the famine in Ethiopia, and the concept of democracy in local and national government).

Forms of superstition.

It should be clear by now that villagers, while declaring that it is best to "live one day at a time", are well aware of the ways in which their present actions may influence future events. A knowledge of empirical, objective cause-and-effect relationships underlies much of their short and long-term planning. However, it appears that many villagers also have access to an alternative system involving the machinations of fate and luck, whereby

the relationship between occurrences does not operate according to the principles governing most interactions between events in daily life. For this reason, this alternative system has often been labelled "irrational", although the fact that it is a **system** implies that it has a rationale of its own. (It was largely due to Tylor and Fraser, the forefathers of anthropology, that superstition came to be regarded as error, as the result of intellectual deficiency).

Having examined beliefs about the existence of a higher providence, a fate governing major life events, I will now consider ideas and behaviour concerning less fundamental, more everyday, matters - phenomena which may be termed, for want of a better word, "superstitions". This is in fact a term used by villagers themselves to cover beliefs about luck, premonition, astrology, fortune-telling, and sometimes spiritualism. All of these are concerned with the synchronisation and/or sequencing of events - with the way in which events co-incide or lead from one to another. To help make sense of such beliefs and practices in Cauldmoss, I intend to draw on various theories that have been proposed to explain superstition as it is found both in our society, and in others.

As with fate and divine p;rovidence, villagers' ideas about luck, premonition, astrology and fortune-telling are all based on a belief in the possibility of establishing a connection with an extra-ordinary power which continually touches their lives, but is not usually open to influence by them, and which has some sort of rationale not immediately evident to ordinary mortals. Superstitious behaviour in Cauldmoss seems to correspond to the irrational and arbitrary quality which is **apparent** in fate or destiny, whereas religious belief goes beyond appearances and allows an appeal to be made to that aspect of the higher power with which one can reason to some extent, or in whose compassion one can trust. My impression was that most people in the community made use of both systems to some extent, while a small number rejected both as "a load o' hooey [nonsense]", and some embraced only one or the other.

For the informant whose ideas about God, etc., I have just quoted, "being in the wrong place at the wrong time"and getting killed was nothing more than an accident. For the majority of villagers, it would be "fated". If it involved a lesser calamity, villagers would be likely to call it "bad luck". Most of the things that happen in Cauldmoss are evaluated as either "goin' right" or "goin' wrong". But it is only when events occur at times when one particularly wants or needs them to go well, when a number of fortunate or unfortunate incidents closely follow one another in time, or when a parrticular superstitious action occurs, that "luck" tends to be evoked. The concepts of "luck" or "chance" indicate that the relationship between the events in question is especially significant. Since this

relationship very largely depends on the temporal coordinates of the events concerned, luck is really a matter of **timing**. Informants frequently commented on the coincidence of events in these terms: "It wis lucky Ah wis in when ye came round" or "Just by chance, she came out of Tescos just as Ah wis goin' in - an' Ah hadnae' seen her fer years! Amazin', eh?!"

Among the inhabitants of Cauldmoss luck (rather like time itself) is portrayed as an enigmatic substance, either positively or negatively charged, which most people possess at some time. Women talked of "feeling lucky the night" as they set off for the bingo, armed with their "lucky pens". Conversely, a man who had just lost £5 in "the bookies" told me: "Ma luck's oot the day". Those who enjoy several closely-spaced positive experiences are described as "havin' a lot o' good luck lately", while those enduring various negative incidents over a certain length of time are seen as experiencing "a run o' bad luck last week/year". In this case they would label their physical time units accordingly: "That was an unlucky week/year". As I explained earlier, particularly unfortunate occurrences taking place in a period of time can lead to that unit being ever afterwards associated with that experience: "April's a'ways a unlucky month fer oor family; that's when oor James died, an' his faither wasnae' lang aifter 'im".

Certain individuals are believed to be constitutionally lucky; seeing a woman from the next village at a bingo session in Cauldmoss, locals groaned, "Oh no, there's Betty McUre . . . noo we've **nae** chance". I was advised, "Watch her - she's lucky". (She did, indeed, go on to win several of the games that evening.) Others need to have their supply of luck topped-up periodically; anyone taking their driving test or going for a job interview, for example, will be sent off with a wish for "good luck". This practice, together with the many other superstitious sayings and behaviours villagers use, suggests that they believe one's future fortune is open to some type of manipulation through action in the present. I shall explore below whether this manipulation takes the form of an instrumental, causative link or whether it should be interpreted simply as "wishful thinking", to use a phrase I sometimes heard in Cauldmoss. In any event, I shall suggest that there is more to "wishful thinking" that just the expression of desire.

There are different kinds of superstition in Cauldmoss. Many are portents which one read in the environment. For example, a woman was prompted to go and play bingo one particular evening by the fact that "there was bird shit on ma windae' the day". A spider walking over one means that one will soon come into some money. Picking a stray thread off my coat, a woman told me its presence meant that I would soon get a new coat. Other superstitions involve human action which is connected to what will happen in the future;

when I left a spoon standing in my cup, an informant told me I would soon get married.

At first glance it might appear that all the superstitions in Cauldmoss which are based on something a person does impute causal significance to her/his action. In fact, it seemed to me that the actor is often regarded, not as the **generator** of the suggested subsequent event(s), but as the **channel** through which fate indicates its intentions; after all, most of the actions involved are "accidental". What about cases where it does appear that villagers believe one can act in such a way as to influence fate, to attract a particular sort of luck? A man who dropped and broke a mirror was warned by his wife: "That's seven years bad luck, ye ken". Frequently villagers "touch wood" (often their own head) to try to ensure the success of a venture they are planning. If someone spills salt on the table, they are urged to throw a pinch over their shoulder to avoid bad luck. Before handing it to me, a friend placed some silver coins in the purse she brought me as a present from her holiday abroad; otherwise, she said, "The purse will always be empty", that is, I will be poor. At my first bingo session, I was told by one of the women at my table to move my purse from the table because to leave it there meant bad luck for everyone sitting at it. Looking round, I saw no other purses or handbags on any of the other tables.

Some of the literature on such beliefs and practices offers explanations in terms of its origins; by reference to a time, for example, when tree (wood) spirits were important or when salt was a precious commodity. But why is it that folk in Cauldmoss (and elsewhere) today continue in such practices, especially when, at the same time, they claim that fate is not in one's own hands? Before considering different types of explanations, I shall briefly describe other aspects of superstition - used in the widest sense of the term - in Cauldmoss.

Just as some people are believed to be lucky by nature, a small number are claimed to have the ability to foretell the future. One man proudly told me that his daughter "has a touch o' a witch aboot her", and described various "weird" incidents, such as the occasion when she saw a strange figure invisible to everyone else in the room, and the times when she accurately predicted that someone would die "soon". Once at a Tupperware Party she whispered to me that she could "smell death" in the room; afterwards we learnt from the hostess that one of the guests was suffering from advanced cancer. It seems that she even had some precognition of her own death. Not long after she married and moved into a flat with her husband, she told me that she had experienced some sort of dark and evil presence over the bed one night. A year or so later, when her circumstances and general frame of mind had altered considerably, she died lying on the bed, having taken an overdose of tablets. Just hours before this occurred, I was visiting another friend in the

village when the mother of the girl in question "popped in fer a blether". Outside, several cats were howling and the mother told me that meant someone was going to die during the night (a belief often voiced in Cauldmoss).

Dreams too, it is believed, can sometimes hint at future events. An old man reported having a very powerful dream about the devil coming to fit him with a shroud: "Ah've no' got lang the noo", he concluded. In fact, he died four months later.

Most villagers are fascinated by the idea of having access to the mysterious and usually hidden side of life. The girl I have just described and several other women in Cauldmoss, sometimes attended meetings at different spiritualist churches in nearby towns - "the Spooks", as they called them. Knowing villagers' predilections for the uncanny, this was not surprising, although I was taken aback to discover that among these women were two who acted as mediums at the meetings, a fact that neither seemed to feel conflicted with their keen involvement in the Church of Scotland (which does not encourage such activities). Much of the attraction of Spiritualism for these women lay in hearing messages from "the other side", and these were often messages about the future. One individual was warned, for example, by the spirit of a dead relative, to take extra care on the roads during the following week.

Villagers are similarly interested in astrology, at least in its most popular form, and often read out loud one anothers' horoscopes from newspapers and magazines. These summarise types of, or specific, events which will happen to one during the course of the day, week or year. Recently, popular astrologers such as Roger Elliot and Russell Grant (many informants liked to watch the latter on breakfast television) have tried to make the esoteric aspects of the phenomenon more accessible. They suggest, for example, how an awareness of the dynamic relationship between planetary positions and one's interests, tendencies and activities can help one to deal more effectively with one's physical and social environment.

But villagers remain much more concerned with knowing what specific events they could expect, rather than with hearing advice on the best course of action or attitude to adopt. Even precise forecasts, however, were taken "with a pinch o' salt" (taking care not to spill it, of course). Horoscopes are a passing amusement for most folk in Cauldmoss; they do not consider using such predictions to try to alter, or adapt to, future events. They are intrigued by the possibility of someone possessing such supernatural knowledge, rather than being interested in the opportunity this may provide for more effective planning. Their fascination with such mysterious forces was further demonstrated by their trips to see

exhibitions of hypnosis held in nightclubs in nearby towns. It was also revealed by the use a number of villagers made of Wight's copy of the oracular Taoist Book of Changes, the **I Ching**. They did not find the method this involves easy "to get the hang o'"; nevertheless, the book was passed from one person to another, one woman even using it to try and discover the outcome of a court appearance she was due to make concerning a dispute with another villager over the ownership of a sewing machine.

Their lack of genuine concern with the instrumentality of superstitions and astrology was demonstrated by the fact that they rarely checked the accuracy of predictions. Informants made no real attempt to remember their horoscopes at the end of the day in order to test them. Only when something out of the ordinary occurred would an individual recall a prediction; when her brother gave her £10 "oot o' the blue", a woman told me "Ma horoscope **said** Ah'd come intae money the day". Similarly, superstitious predictions, such as those I mentioned concerning a thread on one's coat or cats' howling, tend to be remembered only when subsequent events prove them correct. In this sense, they are non-falsifiable.

The same is true of the predictions made by fortune-tellers. Some villagers travel as far as Glasgow and other large towns to visit such women - usually gypsies - who they have heard are "good". "Travelling folk" [gypsies] also go from door to door in Cauldmoss telling fortunes. I knew no-one in Cauldmoss who (like me) afterwards wrote down all the gypsy had told them, so that they could check its veracity later. Several informants could not remember much of what they had been told, even by a well-known fortune-teller; their agreement that a particular fortune-teller was "good" seemed to be based largely on their impression of the degree of certainty with which she pronounced their future. In other words, it was based on the extent to which they felt she had the power to "tune into" the mysterious force dominating their lives. It is clear that superstitious predictions are seen as an aspect of an order of reality which is distinct from everyday reality, with its rational, unidirectional link between present and future actions and events. The former cannot be put to practical use in the same way as the latter.

The function of superstition.

In his wide-ranging study of superstition in different cultures, Gustav Jahoda, referring to the work of Lévy-Bruhl and Robin Horton, claims that for the members of traditional "closed" societies, such "magico-mystical concepts provide the mode of thinking throughout life" (Jahoda, 1969: 107). In our own "open" society, while we tend to believe

that individuals possess a more naturalistic, rational and objective outlook, it is clear that most people also engage in non-rational thought and behaviour. Both superstition and science (for want of better labels) are models which identify and structure relationships between phenomena. The establishment of causal correlations is an aim which is made explicit in science and it also appears to underlie many superstitions, and witchcraft and sorcery. (As I mentioned in Chapter Two, a handful of individuals in Cauldmoss are interested in ritual magic, but they are regarded as extremely deviant, and I do not intend to detail their activities here).

Jahoda suggests that what characterises both science and superstition, and indeed "human cognitive processes in general . . . is the tendency to organise the environment into coherent patterns, to find meaning in the most diverse grouping of phenomena, and to derive satisfaction from such an achievement "(Jahoda ibid: 120). My aim in this thesis is to demonstrate that one of the most important ways in which individuals in one particular community "organise the environment into coherent patterns" is via their socio-temporal framework. Whether the relationship between events is viewed as causal or not, or as scientific or superstitious, the relationship itself tends to be based on the synchronisation and/or sequence of events.

Empirical evidence, reinforced by medical expertise, allows villagers to make sense, for example, of the condition of a sick relative. The onset of unconsciousness, or a change in the patient's breathing or heartbeat as registered on a monitor, signals that death will soon follow. But villagers also have access to another means of organising such events - again one involving a timetable. As I mentioned earlier, impending death can be smelled, and it inspires cats to howl more loudly than usual. In areas of life which touch them personally, villagers want to know what is going to happen, when it will happen and how long it is likely to last (although as I have tried to show, the location and duration of events is not always measured in precise physical time units). Science and superstition are ways of establishing this information, and the desire to link occurrences in some way seems to underlie most of the thought and speech of the inhabitants of Cauldmoss. Often the socio-temporal association between events is itself the only link identified.

Jahoda elaborates on what Bartlett (whose ideas I introduced in Chapter Two) called the human "effort after meaning" (Bartlett 1932: 44), by pointing to the elation we tend to feel when we notice coincidences. This is certainly true of the inhabitants of Cauldmoss, and I have already cited some examples of this. Other instances include informants comments when they discovered Wight and I were born just one day apart in the same year: "That's funny, is it no'?", and cases where an individual was "only just thinkin' Ah could dae wi' a

hand/sit doon/a picture for that wall" when someone arrived and supplied exactly the thing required "as if by magic!".

Jahoda claims that what underlies the quest for meaning is a desire to "reduce uncertainty and doubt" (ibid: 125). He refers the reader to Malinowski's work on Trobriand magic, although pointing out that Malinowski's theory had been shown on empirical grounds to be too all-embracing (see, for example, Leach and Nadel 1957). Jahoda concludes that "where chance and circumstances are not fully controlled by knowledge, man is more likely to resort to magic" (op.cit.:127). He reminds us that those who work in especially dangerous occupations often demonstrate a high level of superstition. In Cauldmoss, ex-miners told us, for example, that a woman going down a pit would bring bad luck; "That's whit we miners believe". Events or times which are seen as particularly important or risky tend to be surrounded by such beliefs. In Cauldmoss these include birth, marriage, sickness, death, and the turn of the year. As we saw, villagers admit their ignorance of what fate will bring and their inability to alter its design. Yet they continue, via superstition, gossip and fantasy, to speculate on, the future and to express in words and actions their preferences about it.

In line with Jahoda's argument, I would suggest that these are all ways, if not of actually controlling the future, then of controlling their own anxiety about what may happen, or rather of alleviating the anxiety that results from the recognition that in general they cannot know what will occur. As I noted earlier, it seemed to me that many villagers were more interested in the possibility of **knowing** about, than of actually **changing** future events.

Jahoda cites psychological experiments which appear to demonstrate that people seek information about the outcome of a situation even where they are powerless to change that outcome (see, for example, Lonzetta and Driscoll, 1966). To take a example from Cauldmoss not involving superstition - villagers avidly read (or watch) and discuss articles in newspapers (or television interviews) which reveal in advance the results of dramatic situations in soap operas. "Ye want tae ken whit's goin' tae happen tae them", they said. At the same time, however, on several occasions I heard informants ordering others **not** to tell them the ending of a book or film they happened to be reading or watching, or the result of a recorded football match or snooker contest: "Dinnae **spoil** it!" In this case, the individual is enjoying suspense based on a **lack** of foreknowledge. Their curiosity is often of a type which does not completely rob the future of its mystery.

Jahoda himself points out that situations involving too **much** certainty may be perceived

as being as unsatisfactory as those involving too **little**. We saw earlier, when comparing those who feel their routine is too rigid with those who say their lives have no real structure, that this seems to be true in Cauldmoss. (Jahoda, like Bernice Martin, suggests that part of the attraction of gambling is the risk it involves, and it is interesting that in the highly ordered routine of village life in Cauldmoss, gambling is one of the main forms of entertainment.)

As I said earlier, some superstitions in Cauldmoss take the form of portents, providing villagers with the opportunity to know something of the future. Others, however, involve a response, some action which villagers appear to believe will have an effect on the future. Jahoda seems to suggest that satisfaction lies in both the knowing and in the action itself, the exact nature of what one does being less important than the fact that one is doing something. To an extent I would agree with this, although it should be pointed out that what one does in terms of superstition follows strict rules in Cauldmoss. While villagers fastidiously observed superstitious lore while carrying it out, they rarely took it seriously enough to ascribe subsequent events to a previous superstitious action.

Bearing this in mind, it seemed to me that rather than being an instrumental attempt to bring about a specific desired outcome, superstition in Cauldmoss is more like a nod of recognition to fate. Although fate is seen as operating on a level which is often beyond human ken, villagers appear to believe that it sometimes communicates its intentions to those sensitive enough to understand such messages (astrologers, fortune tellers, spiritualists, the superstitious). It is this heightened perception itself (villagers sometimes talked of "second sight") which interests them - as much as, if not more than - the actual message conveyed. The superstitious actions in which they engage may be interpreted as acknowledgements of the continual machinations of fate, acknowledgements which take the form of gestures displaying one's desire that all will go well. They are tokens of good faith in the power governing their lives; if this power is sufficiently humanlike to communicate its plans, then perhaps it will respond to an individual who, through her/his actions, shows willing to see or hear, and respond to, its messages and its decrees. In a telling phrase, villagers sometimes warn one another not to "tempt fate", for example, by putting up an umbrella inside the house, by bringing feathers into the house, or by failing to "touch wood" at the appropriate time.

Describing various superstitions to Wight and I, informants sometimes admitted they are "a wee bit silly when ye think o' it", but said that they would still prefer to carry on acting in accordance with them. It seemed to me that the irrationality of many of these practices, which is evident to many villagers, is part of their appeal and their power, in

that it mirrors the apparent irrationality of life. Villagers offer destiny like-for-like; in a sense, their rule-governed superstitions are a way of imposing method on the madness and mystery with which fate cloaks its inscrutable plan.

If we accept the type of theory proposed by Malinowski and Jahoda, the prevalence of superstition in Cauldmoss suggests that many villagers do not feel that they have a large degree of control over their lives and over future events. I have suggested on several occasions that this does indeed seem to be the case in Cauldmoss, and I shall say more about this when I consider the role of expectation in individuals' lives below. It has been argued that this feeling of powerlessness (and superstition as a response to it) arises as a result of particular childrearing practices which happen to be most common among the working-class. This involves a rigid discipline which is experienced as arbitrary and not open to question. Marmor (1956), a follower of Freud, claimed that both fate and God are actually parent substitutes to whom individuals respond with humility and resignation. Gorer's research in the 1950s indicated that such beliefs increase in line with a decrease in income levels, while in the 1960s Rotter showed that the lower the social class of an individual, the less likely they are to "feel themselves to be masters of their own destiny", and the more likely they feel like "puppets on an invisible string" (Jahoda ibid: 140, citing Rotter 1966).

Another branch of theory on superstition (found in the work of Freud and Piaget in particular) claims that it originates in the child's egocentric belief in the power of her own thoughts and actions to affect the environment, especially where it is felt to be arbitrary and threatening. Jahoda suggests that as adults, we retain (some more than others) a vague memory of what Piaget terms the child's "animistic" and "magical" thought, and it is this which underlies superstitious beliefs, and also our attraction to creative works such as **Alice in Wonderland.** During my time in Cauldmoss, I noticed a predilection amongst villagers for science fiction tales or "horror stories" involving children with supernatural abilities such as Stephen King's **Carrie** and Virginia Andrew's **My Sweet Audrina.** A number of informants told me that children have "special powers" - as do certain animals - and can "sense things" that adults cannot, a view which could be interpreted as adding weight to Jahoda's suggestion.

Combining all these strands, the implication appears to be that middle-class parents, accustomed to explaining their behaviour and decisions to their children, thereby encourage their children to grow out of such animistic and magical ideas, and become self-directed, rationalistic, self-reliant individuals. Working class parents, on the other hand, tend to pass on the belief that, in general, control over one's life rests in other hands,

and one's influence is restricted only to certain - sometimes irrational - means. In Cauldmoss it was only among the more highly educated couples - usually living in the private houses - and among more reflective parents on the scheme, that I noticed an attempt to encourage children to "think fer themselves". Although most parents in Cauldmoss are frequently indulgent with their children, there is also a tendency to use authoritarian discipline, without resort to detailed explanation. This seems to produce individuals who have a firm belief in the rectitude of their ideas and behaviour, but a limited sense of their own authority *vis-a-vis* the world outside the village.

In terms of the prevalence of the superstition, my impression is that such beliefs are less common among the owner-occupier class. This may be due to differences in upbringing and levels of education and in the extent to which they feel they can influence the future in more direct ways, but I would suggest that these are not the only factors involved. As I noted above, my informants on the scheme seem to get much enjoyment from their shared knowledge and performance of superstitious sayings and rituals. As with the well-known songs and the tales they repeat over and over again, everyone knows the words and actions and can anticipate what is coming next. Although they frequently do so, it is not necessary for individuals to point out that a superstitious taboo has been broken or to explain their subsequent behaviour, since everyone present - even those who reject such beliefs as nonsense - knows about it. Superstitions, like all collective representations, reflect the solidarity of the group, and villagers often draw attention to their own behaviour in a way which could be described as a celebration of this solidarity: "Ah bet ye dinnae' dae **that** in England!"

Superstitions form part of the cultural repertoire of Cauldmoss, and are sometimes seen as unique to the village or the area. What distinguishes middle-class villagers from the working-class majority is not a lack of awareness of superstitions, but the lack of others with which to play this game on a regular basis. As I explained in Chapter Four, owner-occupiers in Cauldmoss tend to lead more privatised lifestyles, and to spend time in their own house with their immediate family rather than in visiting friends and neighbours.

As in Cauldmoss today, Hoggart claimed that superstition pervaded the working-classes in the North of England in the 1950s, a fact which he attributed to some extent to their living conditions:

> It may partly be explained . . . by referring to the fact that in a life so materially limited one is led to hope for the sudden chance of fortune from heaven. But it is also rooted in a supernaturalism which has survived centuries, and is still enjoyed, not as a

make-shift for the rewards which have not yet come, but because it makes life more interesting (Hoggart op.cit: 138-9).

Thinking back to Martin's (1981) characterisation of the working-class approach as one which involves very clear boundaries and structures, one might summarise the outlook of the majority of villagers in an expression informants themselves use on occasion: "a place for everything and everything in its place", both in the spatial and temporal sense. I noticed in Cauldmoss that many superstitions concern items which are out of place - stray threads, salt spilt on the table, open umbrellas indoors, spoons left in cups. Although most of these are not seen as "clarty [dirty]" in the way food spilt on clothes or a hairbrush on the dining table are (to use Douglas' [1966] examples), they are troubling to villagers. Moreover, because they are believed to indicate the workings of fate, they are especially demanding in terms of needing a response of some sort.

Elsewhere, Martin argues that in our society housework is a form of magic in that it involves "the ritualistic demarcation of domestic space as well as time" (1984: 21). Just as housework concerns the reinforcement of domestic boundaries, perhaps superstitious practices in Cauldmoss may be seen as a kind of cosmic tidying-up. By setting the appropriate items in their immediate environment to rights, villagers seek to encourage fate to ensure that "everything turns out alright". Martin claims that a "culture of control" ("a social *milieu* characterized by a set pattern of social roles and the rhythmic repetition of tasks and activities" [1981: 45]) is **especially** evident among the working-class, because in a "hard environment. . . it was the control which the individual could actually exercise over his own conditions of life" (ibid.: 62).

In describing the way in which superstition reinforces the bonds between villagers, we are moving from a psychological interpretation of this phenomenon towards a more sociological one. As examples of the latter type of approach to various forms of "irrational" belief systems, Jahoda cites several well-known anthropological studies - Worsley (1975) on cargo cults, Iain Lewis (1966) on spirit possession, Evans-Pritchard (1937) on Azande witchcraft and magic, and Marwick (1965) on sorcery among the Cewa. These seek to demonstrate that such beliefs, whereby the occurrence of misfortune is linked to conflict between people, offer a means of reducing tensions through the mediating role of specialists, such as diviners. It could be argued that the medium at a Spiritualist meeting who conveys messages urging reconciliation between relatives fulfil a similar function to the diviner in other societies. The same may be said of the fortune-teller who skillfully suggests to villagers areas of their lives where all is not well, ending each statement with the rhetorical question: "Am Ah right, lady?"

Both psychological and sociological aspects are combined in the way in which villagers approach popular astrology. Although they do not take horoscopes "seriously", villagers continue to turn to them in the paper day after day, read them out to others in the room and then move on with a laugh, or with an ironic "Aye, that'll be right", to reports on the latest exploits of royalty, soap opera characters or sports personalities. I mentioned in passing earlier that it appears that there are similarities between superstition, gossip and fantasy, all three being ways, usually in the company of others, of relieving anxiety about the future. To me, it seems as if villagers see little difference between reports on the position of their own "stars" and how this might affect their lives, and columns revealing the activities of their other favourite "stars" - media celebrities. Both are types of gossip in a sense since, like much of the "blethering" that goes on between villagers, they take the form of conjecture about what is happening and will happen in peoples' lives.

If we look at gossip itself in Cauldmoss, most of it can be described as "idle" in that it is about events in which the speakers play no direct part. Its aim is not to help the speakers in their own activities (although it may affect the behaviour of those who are discussed). Gossip is not simply a form of control over others, but an intellectual exercise for the gossipers. Like the apparently non-utilitarian classifying activities of the small-scale societies described by Lévi-Strauss (1966: chapter one), it is a way of defining one's model of the world. Gossip, fantasy and popular astrology allow alternatives to be explored while standard evaluations are reiterated; as villagers read their horoscopes together they continually compare the events predicted with their present situation and with their more realistic expectations. They are rehearsing their beliefs about the nature of their lives, while speculating on what fate might bring.

In Cauldmoss, superstitious beliefs often seem to go hand-in-hand with a sense of resignation which applies to most areas of life, while those individuals who do not make "luck" responsible for their experiences tend to take a more assertive stance, carefully planning their affairs. I pointed out that superstition is less prevalent amongst the owner-occupying group and that it is these individuals who display the most sdevolopedense of self-direction. If it is true that those who feel least powerful tend to rely on superstition, one might suggest that those who lack an acceptable means of livelihood are likely to resort most frequently to ideas of luck and fate. I noticed that many of the long-term unemployed did indeed refer to their lack of luck and often saw themselves as victims of fate.

However, even among the scheme dwellers, I met several energetic and determined individuals (notably, a number of divorced women aged around thirty, but others too) who

combined a willingness to take what fate handed to them with a firm intention to achieve certain goals. This was more than simply a desire to "make the best o' each day as it comes". As one woman said: "Yer life is what ye make it. No point sittin' lookin' oot the windae' an' wishin' . . . better get off yer arse. " Another declared: "Ah say ye make yer **ain** luck. None o' this, 'Oh, it's bad luck tae dae this, an' it's good luck tae dae that' - it's a piece o' nonsense. Ye jist have tae get oot an' dae things fer yersel'". She went on to say that she believes that in those cases where someone remembers a prophecy, and "things work oot" just as the horoscope or fortune-teller said they would, then this is due to to the person "actin' it oot aifterwards". If this is the case, then it implies that there may indeed be a causal connection between superstitious practices and subsequent events.

In Cauldmoss, the power of expectation is not limited simply to those aspects of life I have termed superstition. Villagers' projections for themselves and their children in terms of education and jobs, for example, are usually fulfilled, and these are frequently negative rather than positive in nature. One mother told me that when she was first pregnant she used to fantasise about her child going to college and becoming "a somebody - no' jist a general worker". But now she has three children, she realises that "We've never been very bright in oor family", and she wonders how much point there is in "pushin' them" to try hard at school when "it looks like there'll be nae work fer them onyway". Older workers who lose their jobs read the (non-supernatural) "signs of the times" - as one man put it- and decide that "at my age there's nae much hope o' a jobe". Villagers themselves pointed out (without using such jargon) that this attitude produces self-fulfilling prophecies. A redundant men is often described as having "lost all his confidence . . . he jist disnae' want tae try anymair", which makes it increasingly unlikely that he will succeed in finding work.

Villagers tend to assume in advance that they will be treated unfairly by employers, DHSS staff, the police, teachers, doctors, and so on. From my observation of their interaction with such officials it appears that informants' resentment often communicates itself to the doctor or police officer, who in turn respond negatively. However, it must be said that my discussions with such officials in the area revealed a clear bias on their part towards the inhabitants of Cauldmoss - a bias I described in Chapter Two.

Although I did not observe any informants who seemed to be "actin' oot" **particular** superstitious predictions, it may well be true that their beliefs as to whether they are in general a "lucky" or an "unlucky" person actually determines what happened to them. In a sense, such superstitious beliefs are like all their expectations, a type of planning, though at a less conscious level than direct, rational planning. As Oscar Lewis argues, even those

at the bottom of the socio-economic scale, who often display "a strong present-time orientation with relatively little ability to . . . plan for the future" (1961: xxvii), possess "a design for living which is passed down from generation to generation" (ibid: xxiv). Because the future is mapped out according to this design, individuals, as in the case of the majority in Cauldmoss, need give relatively little conscious consideration to what will happen in coming years. It is those who seek to improve themselves and their conditions who tend to look with detachment at, and continually revise, their "design", adapting their present actions in order to achieve future goals.

Conclusion.

In this chapter I have attempted to uncover the nature of time as it is understood and experienced in Cauldmoss. In line with the common belief that time in Western society is perceived largely as a linear, flowing and scarce substance, villagers frequently urge one another not to "waste time", and comment on the changes time brings. However the emphasis which is placed on conformity and conservatism in this community means that the regular repetition of events and activities is highly valued. We saw that most (although not all) inhabitants do not conceive of time in the abstract, but in terms of its embodiment in activities and in systems of physical time measurement. Most demonstrate a resigned approach to the changes which constitute time, one which combines both fatalism and pragmatism.

This led on to a detailed consideration of superstitious beliefs in the village, which, as we saw, are all based on an awareness of the synchronisation of particular significant events. I suggested that such beliefs offer a means of creating a sense of order and control above and beyond the "rational", everyday model of causality.

Having explored the general features of time in Cauldmoss, I shall now turn to look at particular aspects of time which are especially relevant to villagers' sense of place in the home environment and at work.

CHAPTER SIX

TIME, FAMILY LIFE AND WORK IN CAULDMOSS.

Introduction.

In the previous chapter I looked at time as a general backdrop to people's lives, and their philosophy of life. Obviously, it would be impossible to deal with every aspect of time in every area of social life in Cauldmoss. Surveying my fieldnotes, it emerged that the majority of informants' references to time related in some way to their family or to work. In many cases, these two areas overlap; for men in Cauldmoss, having a job is seen as the appropriate way in which to support one's wife and children, for example, and the amount and quality of the time one spends with one's family is determined by whether one also spends time working outside the home or not. One's attitude towards the saving and spending of money over time is very much influenced by whether one (or one's spouse) has a job and dependants. The extent to which one marks the passage of time by celebrating turning points in the life-cycle depends on having both the relatives and the cash with which to celebrate, and so on.

Alhough I want to concentrate on time and kinship here, my analysis includes recognition of the fact that many villagers claim that "everybody is related to everybody else" in Cauldmoss (and in some contexts the community is seen as "one big happy family"). My discussion therefore encompasses issues concerning the community as a whole, as well as relationships in families within it. While individual villagers are not **actually** related to every other member of the community, they are often related to a large number. Most villagers are surrounded by relatives drawn from every age group in the community, and when they talk about "the young yins" or "the older generation" in general, therefore, their opinions are often based on their relationships with their kin and affines (**both** types of relative being described as"kin" by villagers).

Friendship and kinship.

Like kinship and community, friendship is a very important concept in Cauldmoss. Kinship and friendship often overlap, in fact, as is evident in the common belief that the oldest and youngest generations of a family should be especially "good pals" with one another, and in the way in which women sometimes declare: "Ma best friend is ma mither". Both sorts of relationship involve the exchange of affection, and various types of help - money, goods, services, and moral support. They also involve spending time

together, sharing experiences, memories and ideas. Without the maintenance of these exchanges, friendship tends to "die"; the relationship dissolves. Kinship remains, on the other hand, since it is based on legal and biological ties, although without ongoing mutual support, the basic formal duties of kinship (and one's kin themselves) may well be ignored. It would appear, therefore, that both kinship and friendship are "voluntary associations" in Cauldmoss.

However, the ethos of this community makes it more-or-less obligatory that certain ties are kept alive. This **should** be the case with all the members of one's immediate family, and it is especially important between parents and children, even where the latter are fully grown. Ideally, it should also apply to one's affines, though disputes here are common in Cauldmoss. As for non-kin, villagers agree that "Its nice/best tae be friendly wi' yer neighbours" and to have "mates" at work; many believe that one should try to "be on good terms wi'" everyone one knows, although there is frequent conflict in the community.

I have pointed out that in Cauldmoss, one's relatives are likely to be of many different ages. Friendship, on the other hand, **usually** binds together those belonging to the same peer group (which includes one's kin and affines), who are said to be "ages wi'" each other, that is, of roughly the same age. Such friendships seem to be cemented during the time villagers spend at school, moving year by year into a new class together. However, in Cauldmoss I encountered several instances of close friendship between individuals whom villagers themselves pointed out belonged to "different generations" (although almost invariably they were of the same sex - the strength of traditional gender roles and of the fear of gossip discourages men and women from forming close attachments other than those involved in kinship or based on helping single elderly neighbours, for example).

For example, a mother aged thirty developed a close friendship with a widow in her mid-forties whose children had all left home. They often commented on the difference in their ages - the younger woman introducing the older one as "ma mither" when meeting strangers in the pub, for example: "She was black-affronted - it was hilarious!" However on another occasion, the younger woman complained that a fellow member of the Mother and Toddlers group had brought her mother along on the group's annual meal out at a Chinese restaurant. It would have been better, she said, if everyone "in the company" had been roughly the same age; "aulder yins" tend to watch the younger ones, making sure they behave themselves "so ye cannae' really let go and enjoy yersel'". Another woman, listening to her, pointed out that there can be as much difference between two folk aged twenty and thirty, as between two aged twenty and fifty, and everyone present agreed. Frequently, villagers speak of a person being "auld before her/his time" or of having "an

auld heid on young shoolders" or - in the case of children - of being "a wee auld wo/man". Conversely, those seen as "immature" are told: "It's aboot time ye grew up an' started actin' like a grown wo/man".

All these examples demonstrate that the inhabitants of Cauldmoss have a clear conception of the type of attitudes and behaviour appropriate to different age categories. This does not mean, however, that they necessarily see their own or others' lives in terms of a movement from one stage to another. The issue of life-cycle ordering is one to which I will shortly turn. First however, I would like to consider the importance of the past and of kinship in villagers' ideas about the nature of their community today.

Inheriting a sense of place.

As I suggested earlier, kinship is important in creating a sense of place among villagers - not only geographical place, but social and temporal location as well. It is the interweaving of these three elements that underlies the inhabitants' view of the village as a community with a distinct identity. In order for an individual to be integrated into this community its members have to know where she comes from and where she now stands. Where was she born? Who are her parents? Whose wife and mother is she? A name means little until it can be established how one comes to own it.

The feeling of being part of this community very much depends on having **knowledge** of events that are occurring and have occurred within it, and on knowing the people involved in them and how these individuals are connected. Isabel Emmett's description of a small town in North Wales could equally well apply to Cauldmoss:

> Those who have grown up in the town have such a wealth of knowledge of each other as to make each encounter densely elaborate . . . Over the course of their lifetime men and women in their seventies will have gone on meeting or passing in the street most of those they have ever kissed, most of those they have ever quarrelled with, and many of those they have ever worked with. (Emmett 1982, 207)

When telling a tale about events that have happened in the past Cauldmoss folk usually contextualise them by identifying the protagonists' descendants living in the village today. Stating the relationship of current inhabitants to these protagonists tells the listener how near or distant in time the events were, and also gives the account veracity and vivacity. In fact, this method of dating seems to be used more often than the calendar or than relating events to national or worldwide time-markers, such as coronations or world wars. The fact that kinship links are stated instead (sometimes as well) as such

markers emphasises the importance of **Cauldmoss's** past, and one's relationship to this past, which is mediated through one's ancestors. In this villagers are similar to people in small-scale societies elsewhere. For example, Evans-Pritchard describes Nuer time-reckoning as "a conceptualisation of the social structure. . . It is less a means of co-ordinating events than of co-ordinating relationships, and is . . . mainly a looking backwards, since relationships must be explained in terms of the past" (Evans-Pritchard 1949: 108).

One village event which informants **do** tend to use to date past happenings is the building of the council scheme. But even this is very much related to kinship - it is remembered because to some extent it brought the splitting up of extended family groups, who until then had stayed in the rows of miners' cottages.

The knowledge that one's forebears played a role (whether honourable or not) in village life gives an individual the right to be part of the "real Cauldmoss" today, the right to say "I belong to Cauldmoss". It is as if there is some recognition that were it not for the collective contribution of the current inhabitants' ancestors, the village would not now exist. In that sense, Cauldmoss belongs to these present "real" villagers as much as they belong to it. This explains the resentment the established inhabitants feel towards the various types of incomers I described in Chapter Four.

As I also pointed out there, only those whose parents (at least) lived in Cauldmoss, and who were born in the village, can lay claim to being a true villager. This right may be passed on by either parent, and as I said, women tend to be referred to in the village by their maiden name even after marriage, although their husband's surname is applied to the children. Some people are given their mother's maiden name as a middle name, which perpetuates remembrance of their ancestry on "both sides" (an expression villagers themselves use). However, this practice seems to be much less common than it was, as is that of bestowing one's parents' Christian names on one's children - "He wis named fer his popa [after his grandfather]". Is is just as likely that a child will be called after one of its parent, and in both cases, it is necessary to distinguish grandparent,parent and child by referring, for example, to one as "Big /Auld" Tam Brodie and the other as "Wee/Young " Tam Brodie, or to agree that one is Tam and the other Thomas.

Given the importance of establishing one's roots in this way, it is perhaps surprising that villagers do not tend to trace their ancestry back very far. In fact, since it was not until the early years of the 20th century that the village's population began to stabilise (following the massive influx of miners in the last quarter of the 19th century), it is difficult for informants to go back much further than the turn of the century. A small number - both

scheme dwellers and owner-occupiers - had tried to research their own genealogy; these tended to be the same individuals who set up the local history group. Others simply enjoyed an occasional stroll in the cemetery, pointing out gravestones from the 18th and 19th century bearing the same surname as theirs - often without a clear idea of their relationship (if any) to the deceased. One of the longest direct lines of kin of which I heard mention in Cauldmoss was when a couple said that they had given their new son the father's first name: "That makes five generations o' James Pattersons noo". It is generally acknowledged that the ancestry of the local major landowner, "the laird", is long and noble, but there is no stipulation that to qualify as one of the "real Cauldmoss families" one's roots there must go back several centuries - unlike the case of the village in Essex described by Strathern (1981: 15-16).

As elsewhere, individuals in Cauldmoss are regarded as inheriting a social position within the community, based on moral and economic attributes. As we saw in Chapter Four, the population tends be divided into three main groups - "snobs", "nice folk" and "the bad lot" - each group being associated with particular leisure activities, for example. Membership of institutions and associations tends to run in families. For example, the daughter of the church organist (a man whose own father had also been church organist) is a Sunday School teacher, and the local Orange Lodge and the Baptist Church are dominated by members of two or three families. An association with the past is also preserved by the belief that not only physical appearance, but personality, is inherited. So, we were told of Mrs Laing: "Betty's a real Thompson" because she conforms to the commonly held view of how the Thompson "clan" (as villagers put it) look and behave, although it was her paternal grandmother who was a Thompson by name. The ascription of such family characteristics is a means of reducing a large number of individuals to a limited number of categories (a process described in detail by Anthony Cohen in the fishing communities of Whalsey in the Shetlands [Cohen 1982: 38]). This example suggests that characteristics come to be associated with surname, and informants themselves pointed out that due to naming practices their mothers' origins and input tend to become lost over the years.

Not surprisingly, there is a clear difference in the extent of knowledge of, and interest in, kinship and affinity demonstrated by those belonging to different age categories in Cauldmoss. Parsons (1943: 184-5) claimed that the modern Western family is structurally isolated, there being no kin grouping with which the elementary/nuclear family **necessarily** aligns itself, with which it functions as a larger unit in the social system. In Cauldmoss, however, connections between the members of such larger kinship units are frequently noted. Older villagers in particular trace links between distant kin, both in synchronic and in diachronic terms. It is to them that younger inhabitants turn when they

want to establish their exact relationship with an individual known only to be "some sort o' cousin to me", or to a villager long dead from whom they know they are "descended off" in some way. Young villagers imbibe a sense of the importance of kinship largely from listening to the tales that their parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles (and their friends and neighbours) frequently tell. I now want to focus on storytelling in Cauldmoss, and other methods by which villagers attempt to bring the past - usually their family's past - into the present.

Storytelling.

Not only do their "stories" (as villagers call them) communicate to listeners a sense of identity by fixing the temporal, spatial and social co-ordinates of the events and people featured in them, they point to the way in which - outwith the narrative itself - time is used to structure all of one's experience.

As has been noted in other societies, the impact of oral narrative on the listener depends on precise timing in the actual telling of the tale (see, for example, Finnegan [1982]). This is certainly true in Cauldmoss, where the storyteller often separates one sentence from the next with puffs on a cigarette or pipe, allowing her/his audience to interject: "And whit happened next?", or "This is the best bit", or "Ah'm pooerless!" [powerless, that is, helpless with laughter]. Again, I noticed a difference between different age groups in the extent to which they enjoyed this type of manipulation in the telling. Children and teenagers who have "heard it a' before" tend to criticise their elders for "spinnin' it oot" and "jist goin' oan an' oan". Those who are older have more patience and recognise that their elderly relatives especially find pleasure in the leisurely recounting of incidents, especially incidents from the past. As I suggested when discussing superstition and gossip, adults in Cauldmoss appear to gain much satisfaction from the sense of communality engendered in their social circle by sharing news or reiterating old knowledge. A large part of this communality is based on the fact that the majority of villagers share the same socio-temporal rules, allowing them to make the same interpretation of the events described, and to arrive at a common understanding of the meaning of what is explicitly, and more often, implicitly stated.

In order to demonstrate my points I will include one particular story told by an informant to her relatives and friends (including me) about the events surrounding the death of another villager. I will, in fact, relate not only the story itself, but the entire conversation since it embodies so many of the issues concerning time which I have been attempting to describe and explain. It does, of course, contain statements not directly relevant to a discussion of

time, but I will include these since they contextualise those which **are** relevant, and allow the reader to judge the importance of time as an organising principle in Cauldmoss (as well as the importance of kinship, for example, in providing jobs, domestic help, cash, information, and so on).

The conversation took place one afternoon in February 1986 at the house of an old man, Alec. His divorced daughter Lizzie and grand-daughter, Rae (who lived a few houses away), were there - as they were for a large part of every day. Lizzie moved continually between the kitchen and the living room as she prepared her father's meal, and hot drinks and cakes for visitors who frequently called. Rae, aged twenty-two and unmarried, was technically unemployed, although at this time she was standing in for her mother at the latter's part-time job as a school cleaner, her mother having broken her leg in a fall on the ice outside. Rae sat reading **The Daily Record**, occasionally getting up to take out her grandfather's dog or to attend to his canaries in the shed. Alec frequently pointed out that, as an ex-miner, he always had problems with his chest "at this time o' year" and so could not look after them himself.

Having brought me a cup of coffee, homemade pancakes and a chocolate biscuit, Lizzie settled down and began telling me how painful her leg was. Rae complained about having to run around after both Alec **and** Lizzie: "Ah'm scunnered!" [tired, fed up]. Alec told me "Ye should o' been up yesterday" when two other villagers had called, and they had all talked about "the olden days in Cauldmoss". Alec and Lizzie discussed how much bigger the village used to be; it had its own tinsmith, for example, who made "piece boxes" [sandwich boxes]; it had three slaughterhouses "then", where cattle from the auction in the local town were butchered for sale in Cauldmoss; it had a tailor and a shoemaker, a gasworks, "a sweetie factory", and a Co-operative butchers, bakers, drapers and food shop. I asked when these shops had closed. Lizzie asked Alec when her auntie died and without waiting for a reply, went on to explain that she could remember her auntie taking her to the Co-op drapers to buy curtains. Her auntie made Lizzie open an account there by taking a dividend number. Then, every time you bought something, it was recorded in your own book, and the more you bought, the more "divi" you eventually got back; Lizzie thought it was 2/6d in the pound "at that time". All this took place around the time that Lizzie got married, and that would be "a couple of years" before Rae was born, so the shop must have closed "aboot twenty years ago".

Alec told me that he had a copy of the local newspaper from 1921 and it talks about Cauldmoss station winning the "Best Kept Station" award. It also shows "a full suit o' men's claes [clothes] advertised fer ha'f-a-croon!" The difference in prices between then and now is amazing, he said. He also claimed to have a 1926 copy of **The People's Friend**

(Lizzie argued it was actually from 1919), which is funny to read.

They reminisced about the way in which folk in Cauldmoss used to "make their **ain** entertainment"; farmers would clear the hay out of the barn and there would be a dance ("nooadays farmers wouldnae' dae it") or a group of mothers would organise a picnic by the river. "Families the noo" are much smaller compared to "then", Lizzie pointed out, "three kids seems to be normal noo".

The television was on, and when the news started we all watched it. Lizzie wanted to see whether the committee inquiring into the "Westland Affair" was demanding to see Margaret Thatcher herself: "That evil woman . . . It'll be the end fer her!" But Alec thought that Thatcher was "sleekit" [sly, cunning] and would "wiggle oot o' it somehoo!" I asked if they thought Kinnock would improve things if he was prime minister. Yes, they said, but it will not be easy for him. It will take him "a gey lang time" to sort out the problems "she" has caused. At least he is likely to do something about unemployment. Alec complained about taxpayers' money being used for Dennis Thatcher to travel around with Maggie, and to pay to find Mark Thatcher when he was lost. Maggie Thatcher would not have sent search parties to look for "just an ordinary person" who had gone missing.

Alec and Lizzie talked about their relative, Jimmie, who used to be a really good plumber but now works for one of the farmers in Cauldmoss. Alec said he is Jimmie's uncle, but when I asked if Alec is Jimmie's father's or his mother's brother, Alec explained that actually his own father and Jimmie's father were brothers, so that "really" Alec and Jimmie are "cousins", but because Jimmie is much younger than Alec - he is more "ages wi" Lizzie in fact - Jimmie has "a'ways" called Alec "uncle". They told me Jimmie is "a big disappointment" to his parents because he is always drunk and never looks after himself. Jimmie's three brothers, on the other hand, are "real gentlemen!", said Lizzie. She described how she always gives Jimmie a pound whenever she meets him: "Ye feel that **sorry** fer him, ken?"

At this point, another of Alec's daughters, Rosie, arrived. After a brief discussion of my work, Rosie began to talk about a fundraising event held recently in Cauldmoss in aid of leukemia research. This effort was inspired by the death of a friend of Rosie's, a young mother in the village, named Ann. The local Provost (whose wife had died last year of the same illness, Rosie pointed out) attended the event and even his chauffeur bought things at it. Rosie said she was touched by the fact the Provost had donated £10, even though he is out of work, and all he gets for being Provost are his expenses.

Lizzie asked Rosie to tell us all about how Ann died; "It's **sad**, it really is". (As my notes say "So Rosie did, with all the usual requisite detail, emphasis, pauses, etc . . .") Ann was only twenty-eight, Rosie began, and she had a wee girl - only four years old. It all started when Ann noticed red marks on her body, but, thinking it was just an allergy, she ignored them "fer a while". But they gradually got worse so she showed them to her friend Margaret, who is another of Rosie's friends. Margaret urged her to go to the doctor, and when she did he decided it was an allergy too, but he "took a blood test jist in case". This was on "the Monday morning", and the doctor told her that the results of the test would be back from the laboratory by Thursday. But that same afternoon, he rang Ann and said could she go for more tests at the infirmary "at ten o'clock the morn's morn". Ann asked how come the result are back so soon - "Whit's wrong?" The doctor explained that he had done a test himself, and wanted the hospital to do more, but there was nothing to be alarmed about. Ann told him she had to work the next day, couldn't she wait until Friday to go to the infirmary? The doctor said no. "Eventually", the doctor admitted that he thought she had leukemia, but a type that meant she had a good chance of living "fer twenty years or mair" if she had the right treatment.

At this stage, Rosie's account was interrupted by the arrival of Sheena, a friend of Lizzie's, whose father was also a close friend of Alec. Lizzie and Alec had been expecting her: "Sheena a'ways comes up on a Wednesday fer her tea". Lizzie pointed out that because Sheena had been a nurse "fer years an' years", she would be able to confirm the medical details of Rosie's story, such as Rosie's claim that there are one hundred and twenty types of leukemia, seventy of which can be "controlled" so that "ye willnae' die straight away". Rosie continued, telling us that after confirming she had leukemia, the specialist told Ann that if she came into hospital for three weeks intensive treatment she would be alright after that. This was in "the November", and in December she went in for radiation treatment and chemotherapy. Her hair fell out, and her teeth went slack, and her arm "swelled like a balloon because of a' they jags [injections] they had tae gi' her".

At this point, Rae, who looked as if she was about to be sick, went out of the room, saying she could not stand "that sort o' talk". Later, she came back asking if we had "stopped a' that death talk". Sheena gently told her that "It's just a thing ye'll hiv' tae face up tae as ye get older, hen". Meanwhile, Rosie described how at the hospital, "they" decided to implant a "brand new device" into Ann's chest, into which "a' they lines" could be plugged, instead of having to use the veins on her arms. They told her she could go home for Christmas, but warned her that if she caught a cold it could be a disaster, so she agreed to stay in hospital. "She wouldnae' even go **hame** fer **Christmas**, puir lassie . . .", interjected Lizzie, "she wis **that** determined tae get well".

After Christmas, the doctors said she was doing great, Rosie continued. "They were very optimistic aboot her future". They gave her an operation and everything seemed OK. But "within a few days" she got very ill and had to have five pints of blood. "Then, just two days aifter that, she died". "At the time" her husband refused to let the hospital do an autopsy - he said "Let her rest noo". But now he wishes he had agreed to it because no one is sure exactly **why** she died "jist then". The little box they put in her chest "wis niver foond", said Rosie ominously . . . "where wis it?" She thinks it must have moved into Ann's chest, into "the aorta" and killed her. Ann only died in January and the fundraisers have "already" made over £3400, she went on proudly.

This account led to a general discussion of various people in Cauldmoss who have different illnesses. For example: Alec's next door neighbour whose liver is "very bad" and who has been told he "only has a month or so left"; the man who had an operation to remove cancer from his throat and now has an "artificial voice box"; the "wee laddie" with "bad kidneys" who keeps collapsing "every few days".

After this Rosie produced two boxes of chocolates (one from her and one from another of Lizzie's sisters, Isabel) to give as birthday presents to Lizzie, whose birthday it had been on the previous day. Sheena said she had forgotten Lizzie's card, and Lizzie joked "That's a guid friend fer ye, eh?!" Rosie told us it was her daughter's twentieth birthday last week. She had been hoping her daughter would forget about it, because Rosie did not want to have to admit to folk that she had a twenty year old daughter; "Ah want her to stay nineteen fer a bit langer! (laugh)". Lizzie wanted to know what presents her niece had got, and Rosie went through a long list of them, describing in great detail the presents and who had given them. (This type of detailed listing of items was a very common feature of conversations in Cauldmoss, an aspect of villagers' concern with the immediate aspects of life, which I have commented on earlier.)

Rosie talked about the party she had held on Saturday night for her daughter. There were nine couples - mainly relatives - there (including Rae and her fiance); any more would have been too many. She said she and her husband, Peter, usually go out for a drink on Saturday nights with the couple living next door. "This time", she decided not to invite the couple, "just to keep the numbers down, ken?" But that night, the man from next door turned up to invite her and Peter to his home to finish off the drink left over from Hogmanay. Rosie felt awful; she had gone to the door "all **dressed**, ken", and the party food was lying ready on the table. So, she asked them over, in the end. Lizzie pointed out that this particular couple have "never" got on with any of the folk that have previously lived in Rosie's house - Rosie and Peter are the first ones they have been friendly with. Rosie said the couple have "a'ways" helped them; "they've been really guid tae us" and

even give her and her kids birthday and Christmas presents. The man used to mend her son's bicycle when he was wee.

"Once", Rosie continued, she was out in her garden hanging up washing when she overheard the couple arguing. She did not want them to think she was listening, so she crawled back to her house "on ma hands and knees!" (Everyone laughed uproariously at this, even those who had heard it many times before). Sheena said it is a good thing to have helpful neighbours, and what they do between themselves is their own affair.

Talking about the party, Rae mentioned that they drank punch and "Harvey Wallbangers", made with Galliano liqueur. She has heard, she said, that the game "Trivial Pursuits" has a question asking what cocktail Galliano is used in. That would probably be the only question she could answer, she said, laughing. None of them had played the game, and they all considered £20 "a lot tae pay fer a game". Sheena asked me "seriously" if there were any questions in it "that **we'd** be able to answer, ken?"

Rosie then began another tale, this time about her sister Isabel's recent adventure at the hairdresser's. "The other morn", Isabel had an appointment to get her hair streaked at a salon in the local town. Both sisters work at a frozen food shop in the town (Rosie having got Isabel "in" there). That morning, Rosie was at work by nine o'clock, and Isabel was due to start at eleven, her appointment being at nine. But at ten past nine, Isabel turned up at the shop, complaining that the hairdresser had not arrived. Rosie told her to go back to the salon; the hairdresser was probably held up because her bus was late. She did not expect to see Isabel again until about twenty to eleven, when Isabel would have time to get a cup of tea before starting work. "But it got to eleven o'clock an' **nae** Isabel. Then it was five past, then ten past, an' **still** nae sign o' her". The shop was full, a delivery arrived at the back door, and there were not enough staff to cope. On top of all that, the area manager turned up unexpectedly to see the shop. Eventually, Isabel came in "**forty** minutes late" and Rosie shouted at her to "get upstairs, get your overall on and start workin'!" Isabel just clutched her head and moaned that she looked like a punk rocker, while limping across the shop (she had sprained her ankle playing badminton a few days before). Rosie entertained us by imitating Isabel's expression and walk. "She looked jist like an auld man! Ah telt her not tae be so girny [whining, complaining] an' she telt me tae stop being crabbit [bad-tempered]".

Rosie went on to say that today was supposed to be her "rest day", but she had been rushing about everywhere, "**tryin**' tae get a lot o' things done in a hurry". This was because her boss from work wanted to come with her husband to see Rosie's new fitted kitchen at seven o'clock that night. That meant Rosie would have to make the tea earlier than usual

so she could wash up and "get things sorted" before they arrive. She complained that her boss often rings her and asks her to work when she is supposed to be off, so she was thinking about not answering the phone "through the day" [during the day time] on her days off in future.

Coming back to the subject of the project on whichWight and I were working in Cauldmoss, it became clear that Alec and Lizzie persisted in the idea that we were there to write a history of the village, despite the fact that we had both explained that that was not our main concern. They all agreed that we should interview the oldest person in Cauldmoss, Wullie Cameron.

Returning to a discussion of Ann who died, they began to argue about the ways in which she was connected to various other villagers. Rosie claimed "there's nae **blood** relation" between Ann and the individual they happened to be discussing at the time, but then she later agreed with Lizzie that Ann and the man had been cousins.

Rosie brought out a bag of net curtains which she was giving to her father: "They'll look braw [fine, lovely] in the summer up at the windae'", she told him. Meanwhile, Rae had appeared with large vodka and lemonades for her and Rosie, and asked what everyone else wanted. . .

This type of gathering is common in Cauldmoss, although it is relatively rare to start drinking at home in the afternoon, rather than in the evening. In this case, it was probably due to the fact that it was only a month or so after Hogmanay - a festive time of year which is very "elastic" in Cauldmoss (to use Parkes and Thrift's term [1980]). The topics discussed here were typical of such occasions, and the conversation demonstrates many of the features of social time I have been discussing in this thesis.

The main speaker, Rosie, obviously leads a highly structured life - regulated by the routines of work (both inside and outside her home); her leisure activities too have a fixed pattern - her regular Saturday nights out with the neighbours. Because of this, her concern with clock and calendar time as they affect her everyday life is perhaps greater than that of villagers who lack such patterns. But, as we see here, even the lives of those who do not have employment exhibit routine - Sheena visits Alec and Lizzie every Wednesday; Rae attends to the canaries twice each day; Alec anticipates ill health every winter, just as he expects Lizzie to set his tea in front of him at about five every afternoon. Such events are markers in time, separating one period from another, and around which other activities have to be organised. They are relatively flexible or variable, however, unlike other commitments which punctuate villagers' interactions with institutions

outwith their immediate environment. These include hairdressing and hospital appointments, and working hours.

When it comes to the tales she told, however, Rosie's use of precise clock and calendar times was not due simply to the importance of schedules in her own life. Had these stories been recounted by anyone else in Cauldmoss, the same attention to such details would have been included. The socio-temporal rules governing villagers' lives are a crucial aspect of their worldview and any event which challenges these rules is especially subject to careful investigation. The same type of principle leads informants to devote much attention to behaviour which breaches moral norms, as I have already noted. Consideration of such aberrant elements is, by definition, in terms of the standard which is being contested, even where this standard remains implicit.

If meaning depends on the associations between cognitive items - especially on the similarities and differences between phenomena - then the principle I am outlining serves as a means of enabling villagers to make more sense both of that which does not appear to fit their norms, and of the norms themselves. It puts both "into perspective" (a phrase informants sometimes used). When the abnormal item consists of unacceptable behaviour, villagers' explanations range from simple description - "It's just pure badness" - to analysis: "Ah reckon it's a' because o' his mither; he wis **dragged** up rather than **brought** up. She didnae' care at a'."

When the abnormality rests largely on inappropriate timing, both the activity or event in question and its temporal characteristics need to be explored. In fact, the two are often inseparable because the "bad timing" itself makes the activity unusual. Often, the explanation offered takes the form of a timetable of events which allows those listening to gauge the meaning of what is described.

When a woman develops a serious illness and dies at the age of twenty eight, this goes against all villagers' expectations (their socio-temporal rules), whereby a woman should remain relatively healthy until she reaches old age at around the age of sixty. Even then, although she can expect physical and mental deterioration to set in, she will probably live at least another ten or twenty years. Therefore, there is a need to know why this particular individual died when she did, and concepts of illness and fate both provide explanatory frameworks. Ann's story as told by Rosie brings out very clearly the way in which villagers use reference to time in the evaluation of events, to make sense of what is described.

For example, the fact that the doctor insisted Ann go to the hospital the next day, rather

than four days later, tells the listener (just as it told Ann) that something is "wrong", that is, things are not as they should be, not as villagers expect them to be. It seemed at first that Ann would live another twenty years or more. However, the severity of her illness was evident from the fact that she had to have intensive treatment for three weeks and that she agreed to stay in hospital even at Christmas - the time of year above all others when every parent wants to be at home. The fact that she died only days after an apparently successful operation indicates to villagers that further explanation is required, this time in terms of the mysterious box in her chest. That villagers had collected an amount of money far in excess of what would normally be raised in a six week period demonstrates their depth of feeling about Ann and the suffering of those like her.

My use of the terms "measure" and "gauge" in the above discussion points to the fact that what underlies all these references to time (whether these are physical time units or less specific periods) is comparison, or rather contrast - usually implicit, but sometimes explicit. Firstly, there is comparison (within the tale itself) of events or activities with one another according to the temporal characteristics they display, for example, in terms of the temporal duration of two related phenomena, as when Ann ignored the marks on her body "fer a while", only to be rushed off for tests within a day of seeing the doctor. Or the comparison may be in terms of temporal location, the most common being that of past and present (and less frequently between present and future). So, for example, at the time Ann died her husband felt one way about an autopsy; now he feels another.

Secondly, there is comparison between the temporal rate, sequence, location or duration actually involved and that **expected** by villagers, as I have explained. Thirdly, those hearing the tale are, albeit unconsciously, continually comparing their own experiences with those of the characters involved. Ann's relationship with time was drastically altered in that she was deprived of a full life-span and, as her illness progressed, weeks and days took on a meaning which they do not tend to have for those who can expect to have many days, weeks and years ahead of them. Recalling experiences of their own, or of those close to them, which were similar to Ann's, they can empathise with the individuals described. Sometimes, informants displayed a conscious awareness of this third type of comparison, saying, for example: "It makes ye think, right enough", or "None o' us ken whit's roond the next corner", or "It makes ye realise hoo lucky ye are, ken", or "We should coont oor blessin's, should we no'?"

This conversation shows the way in which villagers combine reference to precise objective time-markers with more vague indicators. Talking to Alec and Lizzie before Rosie arrived, they referred several times to a non-specific temporal location in the past, "then". However, they supplied a more precise date when it was readily available (for

example, when marked on the old newspaper) or when I asked for it. In Lizzie's attempt to decide when the Co-op drapers closed down, we see her relating various events to one another, a process I noted in Chapter Five. The events she chooses reveal what it is she (like other villagers) tends to find memorable in her experience - her marriage and the birth of her child.

With their lack of belief in the legitimacy of politics, it is enough for Lizzie to claim that Kinnock will need a "gey long time" to improve the situation in Britain. In this context, a greater degree of precision would not add to the force of her argument. Similarly, it was sufficient for her to remind everyone that Sheena was a nurse "fer years an' years"; all those present had known Sheena all their lives. When Rosie talked of her daughter's birthday in relation to her own age, however, more exact demarcation of temporal units was called for, if her meaning was to be clear. Likewise, her reference to time in the tales she told about Ann and about Isabel reflect the fact that the time perception of those involved in the events described was heightened by the events themselves.

This interaction demonstrates that villagers mark one anothers' birthdays, as well as Christmas and Hogmanay. It reveals how, while it is not only relatives but friends and neighbours who together celebrate such occasions, there is a difference in the extent to which, or the way in which these different categories participate in the celebration. For example, relatives give one another birthday presents, while friends often simply give cards; relatives are invited to birthday parties, while neighbours can more easily be left out.

Another issue I shall deal with more fully below is the collective representations of different age categories, aspects of which, again, stand out clearly in this particular conversation. For example, Rae, because of her youth and her unmarried status, was seen by everyone else as an inexperienced "lassie" whose squeamishness was therefore understandable. She was expected to help her sick mother and grandfather, but, because of her age, her complaints were viewed as legitimate: "It **is** hard on a young lassie, right enough". The level of responsibility she had assumed thanks to her mother's current incapacity was above that usually taken on by someone her age, unless they are married.

Alec, as the oldest member of "the company" was deferred to: "Is that no' right, Daddy?" or "Whit dae **ye** think, Daddy?" Old age is usually equated with knowledge and wisdom, unless it is accompanied by senility. His daughters and their peers often turned to him for information on the past, just as they felt that I should interview the oldest person in the village, the implication being that he would know the most about the place.

Photography.

In chapter Four, I mentioned the way in which villagers often bring out old school photographs and spend hours talking about the individuals in them. As an informant once said on such an occasion: "Aye, every picture tells a story, right enough". A brief discussion of photography in Cauldmoss follows logically from the above section on storytelling.

Apart from school photographs, most photographs I saw in Cauldmoss were of villagers' relatives, as one would expect in a community which lays so much emphasis on the family. I cannot recall any living room which did not contain at least one framed "photo" standing on the mantelpiece, sideboard or display cabinet, or hanging on the wall, and many households had several photographs on show. Many informants brought out albums of photographs to show me, or a shoe-box containing a jumble of snapshots.

In Chapter Five I pointed to the way in which informants often describe an incident from the past in a way that brings it to life in the present. For example, the woman who, rather than simply saying her mother died at a certain time, presented a verbal picture of the old lady lying on her deathbed. I noted that these descriptions seemed to me to be like snapshots of the past. Taking actual photographs is a means by which villagers create a record of the here-and-now which can be used in the future to relive what will then be the past. Informants felt that it was important to capture important events - especially weddings - on film, a fact which emphasises the uniqueness of the event. Yet, recourse to such records introduces a degree of cyclicity into this linear movement of events through time. I met only one man in Cauldmoss who was interested in photography in itself, as an interesting way of using time in the present; most villagers' concern with photographic technique goes only as far as ensuring that they "get everyone in" a frame (as they put it) and that particularly important moments are captured, such as the cutting of the wedding cake, or the handing over of a bowling trophy.

Besides weddings (a couple's own and those of their children), the most common subject matter for photographs is children, especially babies. (Many informants also display specially inscribed commemorative ornaments - christening mugs and spoons, wedding and anniversary plates, retirement clocks, and any trophies they may have won). Photographs on show tend to be formal ones, often taken by a professional photographer. But their photograph collection often includes many informal snapshots, usually taken with an inexpensive instamatic camera, showing, for example, family holidays and parties, family and friends at various gala days, and their children and pets at various stages of development. It is significant that it tends very much to be rites of passage that

are recorded in this way - gala days celebrating the start of summer, for example, and an anniversary or retirement party marking the culmination of one period of life and the movement into the next. Since leaving Cauldmoss, I continue to communicate with a number of informants by letter, and I was recently sent a photograph of one woman's young son standing at his front door dressed in smart new clothes, ready to set off for his first day at school.

Their collection of photographs usually includes ones they have inherited from their parents, showing their older relatives when young, as well as themselves as children. Here again, linearity and cyclicity are both evident as informants use photographs to trace the growth and development of individuals while, at the same time, pointing to the similarities in the appearance of kin compared at the same stage of development, even kin of widely different ages. A common topic of discussion when considering old photographs is the extent to which a particular person has changed over the years.

The monthly meetings of the Rural Institute always include a competition such as choosing the most unusual ornament or the neatest hand knitting from among entries brought by members. At one meeting the competition was a "Guess Who?", where women brought photographs of themselves as a child and members had to decide who the photographs were of, the winner being the individual with the highest number of correct answers. This evening underlined the divide that separated native and incomer members more than any other meeting had. Only natives brought photographs and they spent hours talking amongst themselves about their memories of the village and its inhabitants. Meanwhile, the small group of incomers tried to identify the children in the photographs by the similarity they bore to the women they saw in the room, many of whose names they did not know.

Another way in which photography is used to document an individual's pedigree is the local newspaper's practice of including a picture of three (sometimes four) generations of one family. This is inspired by the birth in the area of a baby girl, whose mother, grandmother (and great-grandmother, if possible) could appear with her in a photograph.

Although men in Cauldmoss are very much involved with their families, as I indicated in Chapter Four, kinship tends to be seen as a female concern. In line with this, it is women who usually takes family pictures, and are in charge of the photographic collection. In her study of the lives of women in a town near Cauldmoss, one of Pat Straw's main conclusions was that women are the "'gatekeepers' of family and community history, who erect 'structures of perceiving' for future generations" (Straw: 434).

I should point out that there were occasions in Cauldmoss on which I was surprised to find no one seemed to take photographs - Christmas morning, for example, and Hogmanay. At one hen party to which I went, none were taken; at another only one woman had a camera. Few onlookers take pictures of the Orange Marchers, probably because some of those in the parade like to adopt a paramilitary air by wearing dark glasses. I noticed that villagers tend to have few photographs that were taken "in the hoose", perhaps because many have fairly old or inexpensive cameras without flash units. I also noticed that some of those ritual occasions which are not recorded on film often involve "serious drinking". This could involve the risk of making mistakes in taking pictures or even of damaging or losing one's camera, not to mention that of producing embarrassing pictures.

Despite what I have said about the fact that most villagers possess various photographs, they by no means feel that **every** major family gathering or significant achievement on the part of their children should be marked in this way. It seems to me that this is more characteristic of the middle-class, as is the desire to take creative shots of landscapes or buildings. I rarely saw a photograph devoid of members of the photographer's family in Cauldmoss, even where beautiful countryside or architecture formed a backdrop.

On one recent occasion when Wight and I returned to Cauldmoss for a visit, we were made to sit down in an informant's house to watch the entire video of his daughter's recent silver wedding anniversary celebration. Recording major events on video tape is, it seems, slowly replacing photography as a means of preserving the past - providing, of course, one can afford it. Few in the village would probably think it worthwhile to buy all the necessary equipment to do it for themselves, although some are willing to pay professionals to make a tape of a wedding or a large party for them.

What was particularly interesting for me were the comments made by the man and his family as we sat watching. An anniversary celebration should echo the wedding party itself, so that all those who had been present at the wedding should be invited, as well as more recent additions to the family. There is a large meal, a cake (similar to, though probably smaller than the wedding cake) which the couple cut together, toasts to the couple (although this time, congratulating them on so many happy years together) and dancing afterwards. The couple should be the first to take the floor, followed by the chief bridesmaid and the best man. There are many gifts, although these tend to be luxury items, rather than household necessities, and everyone is expected to be dressed up - the wife wearing, for example, a cream lace suit, rather than a full-length white bridal gown. Those watching the tape pointed out incidents which did not match the ideal format; for example, when the bridesmaid chose to dance the first waltz with her husband rather than with the best man. They commented on the absence of certain people who "should o'

bin there, by rights", but who were now dead or living abroad.

The use of diaries and calendars.

In terms of villagers making **written** records of their lives, the only evidence I saw was the occasional reference to a note in a diary or calender, or the letters they sometimes send to relatives and friends living elsewhere. In order to find out more about this method of preserving the past - and also about the extent to which they planned ahead - Wight and I incorporated questions about the use of diaries and calenders in our second questionnaire. As I explained in Chapter Two, our sample of 62 individuals consisted of 46 council tenants and 16 private householders, each group comprising equal numbers of men and women. Some interesting differences emerged when comparing the various subsamples, although once again, the importance of kinship stands out clearly in villagers' comments.

Considering diaries first of all, three-quarters of the respondents said they did not possess one. Of the fifteen individuals who **did** have one, only seven lived on the scheme; the remainder belonging to private-householders. The results suggest that women were slightly more likely than men to have one, and that there were a higher number among those who work - either in a job or as a housewife - who had one (35% of that group), followed by the retired (13%) and the unemployed (8%). The comments made by respondents help to reveal why these differences exist. Before looking at these, however, I should point out that only five individuals claimed that they used a diary to write about what **had** happened rather than, or as well as, what **will** occur. Two of these were elderly women, and the husband of one of them joked that his wife was "planning to write her memoirs one day!" Another was a widowed farmer who said she needed a record of what she had done on the farm each day so she could organise her work in advance. Only two men, both employed council tenants, wrote about what had happened to them, and also noted future events.

To keep a daily journal was clearly seen as an odd thing to do by most villagers. One woman declared that it is "unlucky" to write in a diary about what one has done, while a man told me that he was always advised never to put anything in black and white; if he wrote down the tales of his life, he would be hung. One woman said, pointing to her head, "My secrets are a' in here!", and so she has no need of a diary, and another simply told us "Ah've a guid memory", both for past and future events. For most people, a diary is meant for noting down future commitments.

The group that stood out in terms of diary use was the women in private houses in our

sample, more than half of whom worked both inside and outside the house, and three-quarters of whom kept diaries - mainly in order to "organise myself for future events", as one of them put it. Those in Cauldmoss who have highly structured work routines also tend to have regular social commitments, and these individuals mentioned using their diaries to record a variety of events - days off and holidays from work, dental appointments, birthdays, special nights out, dog shows, whist drives, and so on. One particularly future-orientated woman in this group, who often told me of her plans for her family, even kept a record in her diary of how many rolls of wallpaper each room in the house would need when it was time to redecorate. One owner-occupier used a diary to keep track of the jobs he did, another - a teacher - said he knew the timetable at the school so well he did not need to write his work schedule in his diary, but used it for noting telephone, bank account and cash card numbers, for example. He did put in future events, he said, but remembers appointments and dates, and so did not consult it for that.

Among council tenants, most of those who kept them were employed men; one self-employed builder told us he kept a big book for recording jobs he had to do; another man had "a journal" at work for writing down future appointments. Only one of the unemployed men we questioned had a diary - "just a reference thing" - in which he wrote down forthcoming job interviews and appointments. (The unemployed husband of a woman we questioned had a diary to keep track of Orange Lodge meetings, darts and pool matches, and birthdays, she told us).

One woman in a private house pointed out that since she gave up her job she had not used her diary as much, except for "dental dates and bru visits (laugh)." The comments of some unemployed men, when asked if they had a diary, reflected the relative lack of structure in their lives: "Ah've nothin' tae write in it!", "Ah'm past the stage o' usin' a diary. Ah cannae' mind after a Saturday night so what's the odds!" The same was true of some of the retired men: "Ah've nothin' tae use it fer"; "We're very haphazard, so we are. We don't plan, we just go out an' do something". Some of the housewives also felt, for example, "Ah'm no' busy enough fer a diary" or "My life's not exciting'enough to keep a diary". One elderly woman said she did not need a diary for appointments; all they had got in the future is the chimney sweep coming and a friend visiting at the weekend. The fact that more women than men in Cauldmoss have diaries emphasises the former's role as preservers of kin ties since most of them mentioned using diaries to record family birthdays and anniversaries, and addresses and phone numbers.

Turning to look at the extent to which villagers possessed and used calendars, it becomes apparent that most of the couples who did not keep a diary, **did** use a calendar to fulfil the same type of function. Out of 62 households, only eleven had no calendar (one

individual kept a diary instead), six of these being unemployed households and one that of a retired widower. The remaining 51 households possessed a total of 107 calendars, and, as with diaries, owner-occupiers displayed a higher rate of calendar ownership than did council tenants. Proportionally, retired respondents as a whole scored slightly more than employed individuals in terms of calendar ownership, while the unemployed scored the least.

Several informants pointed out that, as one said, "Everybody's got a calendar in Scotland; they get given them at Christmas because it's bad luck to have tae buy yer ain". However, 22 of the 51 people with one or more calender(s) said that they never, or hardly ever, actually used them.

It appeared that, although the unemployed were least likely to have a calendar, those among them who **did** were as likely to use it as those with jobs. On the other hand, the group with the highest number of members possessing calendars - the retired - used them far less than any other subsample. It seemed to be those with children still at home who made most use of a calendar; the elderly simply had fewer commitments they needed to remember. Nevertheless, many old-aged pensioners liked to have a calendar on the wall. As one old lady said "Ye dinnae' need to **use** them, but it'd be a funny hoose withoot a calendar" An elderly widow told me her daughter "tells me off" for forgetting to tear off the months on her calendar. As with diaries, villagers did not tend to see them as a means of making a record of events which could be looked back on. Rather, they were used to remind people of forthcoming events; the most common cited being their relatives' birthdays and wedding anniversaries.

Another function frequently mentioned was to check what the date was; even those who claimed they did not need a calendar because "Ah can usually mind o' whit's happening withoot writin' it doon" sometimes forgot the current date, and therefore did not know for sure how long was left before an event was due to occur. (Several of those who had no calendar pointed out that they could find out the date from the newspaper or from Teletext.) The elderly tended to have few forms to fill in, whereas the unemployed complained about all the paperwork involved in their claim to the DHSS, and they had periodic appointments at the office in the local town.

Some were explicit about their desire "to check how far ahead somethin' is - say, a night oot", "to check the date of something - see how long it is till it happens". One woman said she enjoyed ticking the days off if she was going somewhere. Another woman told us she liked to "look up what day Christmas is, or what day your birthday's landin' on". One young unemployed man even told me he used the calendar a lot, for example, "fer markin'

things doon - how old the wain is, and whit she's doin'", that is, what stage of development she is at.

Those with jobs marked down their holidays, their shifts, and work rotas on the calendar. Housewives used them to help organise their housekeeping; for example, one made a note each time she bought a bottle of gas so she could work out how long they lasted and plan ahead. Another marked down when her next electricity bill would be due, and a third noted the date the sweep was coming to clean the chimney. Among all the subsamples were those who used the calendar to remind themselves of leisure activities such as dances or pigeon races, although the unemployed had less to remember in this regard than the other groups. On one occasion I arranged to visit an informant on the following Monday; she made a move as if to circle the date on her wall calendar, but then laughed, saying that because so little happens in her life, she can remember anything that is due to happen without making a note of it. In any case "If ye're unemployed, ye can say ony day fer onybody tae come; ye're free ony time". Several respondents spoke of "keeping track o' . . . the days/going to the hospital/birthdays", etc., a phrase which emphasises the linear aspect of their view of time.

What emerges from this analysis of the use of diaries and calendars in Cauldmoss is that only a minority bother with the former, and that, of the majority who possess the latter, only half use them regularly. In general, villagers do not create written records or plans, preferring oral and visual accounts of the past and to rely on their memory. As one would expect, it was those in employment, those with higher incomes and those owning their own homes (characteristics which tend to overlap) who had most recourse to both calendars and diaries, since it is they who have the need, the means and the motivation to plan ahead.

Life-cycle ordering.

Key stages and events in the life-cycle.

In considering membership of the community, storytelling and photography in Cauldmoss, I have focussed on villagers' attitudes towards the past. While looking at their use of diaries and calendars, I have moved on to their orientation towards the future. At various points, villagers' concern with key points in the life-cycle of their kin has emerged - birthdays, weddings, anniversaries, etc.

In the course of interviews, it seemed that most informants did not "see a person's life as

being divided into different stages", as I put it when talking to them. However, when asked what they considered to be the most important things that happen to someone during their life, there was a high level of agreement, the main events cited being marrage and having children, although many also mentioned getting a job. Several referred to being born itself, and to leaving school, and some to getting divorced and to retirement and death.

There was little difference in the replies of men and women (each demonstrated an awareness of stages and events they would never experience directly themselves), and of council and private house dwellers. So, for example, a male owner-occupier told me (although he had never thought much about it, he said) that ones' life begins with the period - roughly 20 years - between one's birth and the time one leaves home and marries - one's "childhood". Next, is the period between the time one's first child is born and one's last child leaves home. Then there is the time left until one dies. The most important events in a man's life, he said, are " yer birth . . . leaving school an' yer first job; yer first born; yer wife leavin' ye! (at this, his wife sitting opposite laughed); when yer children leave home an' get married; when yer wife dies" (more laughter). 'To a lesser extent, the different stages of employment or unemployment; retirement . . . "

A woman living on the scheme pointed out that a person's ideas about the different stages in life change "a' the time" as one grows older:

> It's hard tae say . . . goin' tae school (an' Ah havnae' really ever grew up! laugh) . . . gettin' married, Ah suppose that's another stage, an' havin' wains, an' gettin' divorced in ma' case, . . . Ah think the maist important thing wid be retirin'. Even the label 'pensioner', it means yer oot tae grass, don' it?

Even though she does not refer to getting ones first job here, she does mention retiring from employment. On other occasions she did in fact talk spontaneously about her first job and how proud she felt when she showed her mother her first wage packet: "Grown up, ken, an' independent. "

All the events mentioned by these particular informants are the focus of a great deal of discussion and activity in Cauldmoss, and it is those among them which are most marked by ritual which tend to be seen by villagers as constituting the beginning and end of definite periods within their lifetime.

To conclude this introduction to life-cycle ordering In Cauldmoss, I shall summarise the responses of informants to another of the question in our second questionnaire. We asked villagers what sort of things they "celebrate", or about " any other time you do something special". The full set of reponses may be found in Table 10 in Appendix Three. The events

referred to were (in descending order of number of citations): birthdays, Christmas, anniversaries, Hogmanay, weddings, retirements, christenings. One or two respondents mentioned other events such as the "old folks treats", finding work, etc.

Not surprisingly, those in employed households (where both/either husband and/or wife had jobs outside the house, and where money tended to be less "tight") seemed to do more celebrating than those couples where neither partner was in work. However, while weddding anniversaries, for example, were marked far less by the unemployed households in our sample compared to the employed households, a much higher proportion of the former claimed to celebrate New Year. This is possibly due to the fact that many in this group limit their annual celebratory activities to a small number of events, but allow themselves to "really let go" at Hogmanay - the traditional time above all others for excessive eating and drinking with family and friends.

From their comments, it appeared that there was a high level of agreement among respondents as to the way in which different events should be marked: cards, presents and a cake for birthdays; a party for New Year; a special meal for an anniversary, etc. However, individuals were not always able to celebrate in accordance with the ideal. Some said, for instance, that they would only go out for a birthday or anniversary meal "if ma husband's workin'", or "if we've got money". It also emerged that certain birthdays were seen as particularly important: those during childhood, and at 18, 21, 70, 80, 90 and 100. Even those who said "We dinae' bother much wi' anniversaries" often went on to describe their silver or golden wedding party.

Since I lack space to present detailed treatment of every stage and event in the life-cycle of villagers, I will summarise ideas about them here, and give an indepth account of one major event - a wedding.

Childhood and youth.

The first major ritual in which most villagers take part is their christening, although not all babies are christened now. At the Kirk, this is a fairly short ceremony often occuring within the context of a normal Sunday service. It involves the child's incorporation into the church, and the parents' and god-parents' promises to guide the child along the Christian path through life (despite the fact that they themselves may not be church-goers). All those involved are in their best clothes, and the ceremony is usually followed by a family celebration at home, at which special gifts, money and good wishes are showered on the child.

A major transition occurring in the life of a young child is her/his first day at nursery school, which parents tend to see as foreshadowing the day s/he will go to primary school. By the latter, s/he is no longer "a baby", but "a big girl/boy noo" who is often given new clothes and a special bag for her/his schoolbooks. The end of her/his educational career - which for most Cauldmoss children comes at 16 - is not usually seen within the family as a particularly significant event, recognition being reserved for the time when the school-leaver gets a job. Government training schemes for school-leavers do not count as a "real" job, (although parents may try to encourage their children by telling them "Well it's a **start** anyway"). Those young people on YTS courses, like those with no work at all, are seen as being in a kind of limbo - in an unsatisfactory position between childhood and adulthood. The same applies to those who choose to continue in full-time education past the age of 16.

This last point is especially true of children living on the scheme; one young woman there even told me that while at sixth year of secondary school she used to pretend to many villagers that she worked full-time in the supermarket where she actually worked only on Saturdays. As I indicated in Chapter Four, a relatively greater portion of the children of those living in their "own" house tend to go on to further education. Where this is the case, degree ceremonies officially close the period of education; I saw photographs of scholars in a few living-rooms in Cauldmoss.

Whether it was at 16, 18 or 21, getting one's first job is a cause for celebration in Cauldmoss. For most, this takes the form of a night out with their friends; even 16 year olds, especially boys, will "take a drink" (alcoholic) once they have moved into the category of adult thanks to finding work. Some mothers provide "something nice" for tea on the day their child announces s/he has got a job, or the family might go out for a meal together.

Ideally, this is the start of a period of increasing independence on the part of the young person which will intensify when s/he leaves home to marry and have a family of her/his own. In practice, however, during the time I lived in the village, few school-leavers found jobs, apart from YTS ones or temporary or unofficial work. Even those who managed to get what appeared to be a permanent position in a secure firm often found themselves redundant after a year or two. This means, as many informants pointed out, that "Kids arenae' gettin' a chance to grow up nooadays". Most find it difficult to manage on the small benefit payment they receive and are forced to rely on their parents for money, food and clothes. Often couples delay getting married in the hope that one of them might find work.

When Wight and I first went to Cauldmoss in 1982, we found that many unemployed young

people were attempting to achieve some independence by leaving the parental home and moving into a council flat elsewhere in the village, the rent being paid by the DHSS. There were a relatively large number of empty flats there since there were few people outside Cauldmoss wishing to move there, and it was fairly easy for unemployed individuals to acquire large grants from the DHSS to cover the cost of necessary furniture and equipment. This move to a house of her/his own constituted a turning point in a teenager's life which would in the past have been supplied by finding a job. For most, however, this was not a very satisfactory substitute; many could not afford to buy much food or to pay for electricity and coal, and so spent a large amount of time at their parents' house.

Moreover, many older villagers, recalling the struggle they themselves had had to set up a home, were extremely resentful of the ease with which these youngsters seemed able to do it, and frequently criticised them. Although by the time we left Cauldmoss changes in government regulations meant that unemployed young people were no longer given financial backing to set up their own home, their image remained tarnished in the eyes of a large number of informants.

I have pointed out on several occasions the way in which villagers make sense of what is happening around them by comparing and contrasting phenomena with one another (often implicitly). One of the most common contrasts made, as I have said, is between "then" and "now" and this diachronic distinction is reflected in beliefs about the synchronic coexistence of different values held by "youngsters" (teenagers) and "auld folk" in Cauldmoss. Informants recognise that members of "the older generation" (as they sometimes put it) acquired their attitudes and ideas in their youth, at a time when moral and material standards were different from those prevailing today.

In fact however, I have suggested that in this conservative community, there is a relatively high level of consensus in beliefs so that, for example, both young and old alike (and those in between) place value on regular employment and a stable family environment, although this is more marked in older people. Nevertheless, villagers often choose to isolate the period of youth (or "nooadays") and that of old age (or "in them days") as representing two distinct world views; those in between these age groups do not tend to be seen as constituting a specific category with particular views in terms of life-cycle ordering. One man articulated this when he told me that, as a 33 year old "Ah find myself in a strange position because ye could say all of us here [him, his wife and myself] are in between generations. Neither of us are really young, or really old". On the other hand, another informant displayed a different understanding of the term "generation" when he pointed out that,

> . . . **everybody's** an older generation. Ah'm an older generation tae [my wife]. Even ma music's different. Ah like country 'n' western an' rock 'n' roll, but Ah cannae' stand "Wham!" or "Boy George" . . . Rock 'n' roll - that's whit Ah used tae dae an' Ah'm no an auld man - 23 years auld!".

Even he, however, had firm ideas about the difference between young and old people in Cauldmoss.

Villagers often display some ambivalence when generalising about those belonging to both age sets, a result of the fact that the behaviour of their members frequently challenges the conventional image of youth or old age in the community. Their ambivalence is also due to the fact that their collective representations themselves contain a degree of ambiguity. Both adolescence and old age are periods of transition: teenagers are seen as moving from a position of dependence and obedience to one of increasing self-reliance and self-determination; the elderly are expected to lose some of their independence as their faculties fail. In line with the emphasis placed by villagers on the proper care of children, many informants felt that teenagers too should be provided with work and leisure opportunities.

It is interesting that when I told a woman I was writing about people's ideas about time in Cauldmoss, she commented: "Time in Cauldmoss? That's boredom, pure boredom! There's nothin' fer the youngsters here". Many informants express sympathy for the teenagers in the community, and condemnation of a government which does not ensure that there is work for them. At the same time, they criticise young people for their willingness to take "hand oots" from the DHSS, for their apparent lack of motivation to find work, and for their unruly behaviour. For example, a woman said:

> Ah think the younger generation noo are no' the same [as younger generations in the past]. They're jist wantin' everythin' tae be done fer them. They're no' gettin' tae stand on their ain two feet. Ah feel sorry for them that cannae' get a job, but Ah think they've got tae the stage they don't even care. They know there's nae future, an' they're just no' botherin'. They cannae' save up fer holidays or nothin'. They've nothin'.

At this, an older man listening, interjected "A hell o' a lot disnae' **want** a jobe, though. They'd rather steal". The woman went on to defend teenagers, pointing out how they are exploited by the YTS. "If they don't take they jobs at £25 they're no' gonna get their £27 frae the bru. So they're **makin'** them dae it, they're making'them **hate**". In her eyes, it is this resentment which prompts the vandalism and theft, or the simple apathy, that has come to characterise many teenagers in Cauldmoss.

Among those who are more critical of this age group, there is disagreement as to who is mainly responsible for the bad behaviour they are believed to demonstrate. A 35 year old

man told me:

> The younger generation now have far less respect for everything'- authority, their parents. Ah don't know why - they're not brought up any differently. Ah saw the differences in the apprentices at British Aluminium. At 18 Ah did what Ah was told. Ah obeyed the tradesmen, or Ah'd get a kick up the backside if Ah did anything wrong, or gave cheek. Now it's completely changed. Must be because they're anti-corporal punishment at school. Now people know their rights. In the past, a policeman could kick you in the pants; now he couldn't, and things are worse.

On the other hand, a woman of about the same age said that although she feels sorry for "the young yins, especially the yins that've no' got jobs", it is true they often lack discipline. "But it's oor fault because we didnae' discipline them. I really dinnae' think parents are awfi' strict noo". Adolescence is "a confusing time" she felt, because on the one hand "we're wantin' them tae stand on their ain feet", while we also want them "tae do what we tell them" and what an employer orders them to do. Like children, adolescents are "easy led" by others; they may seem "no' tae care at a'", but they are actually often vulnerable. Those without work, she went on, "are lookin' fer somethin'"; some find "it" [a sense of identity?] by joining "a weird religious sect", others by "being a punk". "The kids noo are graspin' at straws; they've nothin' tae look forward tae".

What emerges from these comments is a clear sense of the importance of "proper paid employment" as a means of endowing individuals with self-esteem, responsibility and a sense of direction. It is noteworthy that many informants spoke of a job in terms of the way it structures time; it gives a young person something to do "through the day" and money to enable her/him to participate in various free time activities in the evenings and at weekends. It encourages a linear forward-looking attitude since it allows one to plan future changes, both in one's employment situation itself, and in one's domestic or social life - whether this is a decision to go abroad on holiday, to buy a particular item or to marry.

Marriage and the transition to adulthood

I would now like to focus on the period which traditionally begins a few years after the start of a person's working life, and is expected to last until the death of one partner - married life. Villagers pointed out that up until recent years, a woman was expected to give up her job for good on her marriage. Now it is more common and more acceptable for a wife to leave work just for the time it takes to have two or three closely-spaced children, and then to return to paid employment once her children are all at school. Nevertheless, it is the husband who should ensure the household has an adequate income, especially where there are children. The wife's primary task is to use this income in an efficient way

to provide a comfortable and stable home for her family.

The emphasis on family life in Cauldmoss explains why marriage and the establishment of one's "ain hoose" are such important events. In Chapter Four, I discussed one of the rituals involved in the process of marriage - the show-of-presents. I have also indicated the ways in which villagers commemorate their wedding and mark the progress of their career as a married couple via anniversary celebrations. Informants are often highly knowledgable about the substances traditionally connected with different anniversaries - wood, paper, silver, gold, ruby, diamond - and about the gifts appropriate to each such landmark. As one would expect, they are also very concerned with the etiquette of the marriage itself, which tends to be seen as the most important ceremony of an individual's life.

Among both owner-occupiers and scheme dwellers a great deal of discussion and planning usually goes into a wedding. There are variations in style of course; first marriages usually take place in church and second marriages at the register office in the local town. Those parents who can afford it organise a lavish "do", while the less wealthy have a "quiet wedding". The daughter of a wealthy farmer rode to the kirk in a hired pony and trap, preceded by relatives and friends in a stream of chauffeur-driven cars, while an unemployed father-of-the-bride could "manage" just one hired car - to take him and his daughter to church. In the case of the first bride, the ceremony was followed by an elaborate meal and reception at a "posh" hotel in a town several miles away; the couple spent the night in a different, but equally expensive, hotel before setting off to the Caribbean on honeymoon. The second girl's reception took place in the local community centre and was followed by a week in Scotland.

The process of changing from a single person to half of a married couple consists of more than the wedding itself. It begins in courtship ("courting" or "wenching"), and intensifies with engagement to marry. It culminates in a series of rituals beginning with the procurement of a marriage licence ("marriage lines") a few weeks before the ceremony, then the "dressing up"/ hen night, the show-of-presents and the wedding itself, all of which usually occur over the space of a week. The process continues after the ceremony proper; after the initial excitement of the honeymoon a couple gradually "settle down" together, and all await the arrival of the first baby to cement the partnership and transform the couple into a "real family". In a sense, until the couple start "a family o' their ain", they are not seen as being fully grown-up and independent of their own parents.

All these stages are governed by temporal norms, although some are more flexible than others. It is seen as important not to "rush into" marriage, but an over-long courtship

and/or engagement is often the object of amusement or criticism: "They're jist too mean tae pay fer the reception!"; "They should make their minds up one way or anither!" A year is "aboot right" for an engagement; it allows the couple and their parents time to save up money to pay for the wedding and to make all the necessary arrangements. Some parents have money "put by" for years ready for the day their daughter announces she is to be married. Others have nothing to spare and in that case, the engaged couple themselves and the young mans' parents will all contribute to the cost. Sometimes other relatives "chip in", especially grandparents. The main events surrounding the marriage and the wedding ceremony itself involve more precise timing, as we shall shortly see. The honeymoon should last at least a week and preferably two - any less or more time leads to comment: "Two days? it's hardly worth botherin'"; hearing a couple had gone abroad for three weeks an informant observed, "They widnae' be wantin' tae come back after a' that time".

The decision as to when to "start a family" is often influenced by the employment situation of the couple. Several couples where the husband was out of work described "puttin' it off" until he "hopefully" found a job, although, having (accidently) fathered one baby, one unemployed husband told me having the baby has helped him to survive the boredom of unemployment. He and his wife want only two things, he said - a job for him and "a wee brother or sister fer Kirsty. Money is a big problem 'cos it isnae' cheap tae bring up a family noo". Ideally, a couple should have the financial security to enable them to freely choose when to have a child, or, rather to choose to act in line with the norm. To have a baby "straight away" is not viewed as the best way in Cauldmoss; couples should "gi' themselves time tae get used to one another first". On the other hand, couples who remain childless after about three years of marriage, especially where the husband has a job, are regarded with pity: "Ah wonder if there's somethin' wrong wi' her - or wi' him?"; "I wonder why they dinnae' want tae ha' kids? It seems a shame".

To return to the wedding itself. Simon Charsley (1984) has described and analysed many aspects of modern marriages in Glasgow, and his work reveals some interesting variations between customs found in Cauldmoss and in Glasgow, which is only 25 miles from the village. It also suggests different ways of making anthropological sense of these customs, and I will refer to his analysis in what follows.

I took part in two sets of wedding rituals during the time I lived in Cauldmoss (and observed a number of other "dressing ups" and marriage services as a bystander). The first set (May's) took place in Cauldmoss itself, and in the case of the second (Julie's) the hen night and service and reception were held in the local town, though the show-of-presents was in the bride's parents' house in Cauldmoss. I will focus on the first set (while noting

any major differences between the two), describing the events and then attempting to explain them. Apart from the wedding ceremony itself, these are rituals involving women. My knowledge of stag nights is less extensive, although I will mention this aspect too.

Among the couples investigated by Charsley, the usual sequence of events was for the bride-to-be to have a "show-of-presents" one afternoon, followed that evening by her being "dressed up" in costume and "taken oot" by her friends (known in Glasgow as "a bottling", and in Cauldmoss as "dressing up"). A hen night (which Charsley tells us could involve staying at home with friends or going out with them to a pub) may be organised in place of the "dressing up" or as well as it. Alternatively, if she has a job, her workmates are likely to dress her up on her last working day before the wedding. Whatever the manner of the individual stages, he implies that for most women the "show-of-presents" comes before the "dressing up".

In Cauldmoss, on the other hand, the usual sequence of events for a woman working in the town is for her to be "taken oot" by workmates at lunchtime or after work on her last day at work before the wedding. That evening she usually has a hen night in a club or pub in the town. She may be coerced into dressing up at both. Those who are not in employment tend to have a hen night in the village itself, which includes dressing up the bride-to-be in the pub. In both cases the show-of-presents will then take place a few days later at home, and the wedding itself a few days after that. In both cases the hen night usually takes place on a Friday or Saturday night; those with jobs often took a week off work to prepare for "the big day".

For her hen night, May, an unemployed 22 year old, arranged to meet a group of female friends, myself included, at 8 o'clock in the bar of the social club in Cauldmoss. She arrived early in order to give the barman £10 to pay for a "first drink" for all those in "the company". May, another woman, and myself were soon joined by May's mother and three of her friends who had all been playing bingo in another room in the club. A little later, four more of May's friends arrived, including her bridesmaid Carol, bringing a jacket made of paper and a tall cardboard hat, both decorated with streamers. They also had a baby's plastic potty full of salt, similarly adorned with streamers. There was much hilarity as they made May put on the clothes on top of her dress and hold the potty, while she half-heartedly tried to refuse. (Julie's costume at her hen night - which took place almost two years later - consisted of an old raincoat, a straw hat and shorts covered in pink and white toilet-paper flowers, all made by her colleagues in the office. The coat had a large L-plate on the back. Her potty, too, was very elaborate, containing not only salt, but a small baby doll, a baby's dummy, a nappy pin and a jar of "Vaseline")

After one drink, the younger members of May's group set off in noisy procession round the bars in the village. One woman rang a bell, another beat a tin tray with an ashtray, as we all sang at the tops of our voices: "Way hey, kick the can, May MacConnal's got a man!" The first stop was the other room of the social club, where the woman who was carrying the potty for May placed it in the middle of the floor and everyone watched as May jumped over it three times. In reply to my question "Why is she doing that?", the others all told me it is "fer fertility". One of them then carried the potty around everyone in the room so that they could put coins into the salt: "pennies or silver", someone told me. (Charsley states that in Glasgow only men put money in the potty.)

The jumping ritual was not repeated although May had to give a kiss to several of the men in the bars we visited in return for their money. In one, the barman got a "Durex" out of the machine in the men's toilet and put it in the salt which caused the women in the hen party to shriek in mock-horror and amusement. Going from one bar to another, the women stood in the road, forcing cars to stop and demanding that the driver put money in May's potty, which they all did, receiving kisses from May. When we set off the women had talked of going to every bar in Cauldmoss; in the event, no one wanted to go to the "snobby" Bowling Club, and the cold rain persuaded them to also omit the pub at the far end of the village. Walking back to the social club by a different route, still singing and banging, one woman in our group commented "Ah didnae' ken lassies could be so noisy!"

(At Julie's hen night, held in a social club in the local town, her friends asked the singer in the band to announce that Julie would now jump over the potty. He did this and the band played a little flourish as Julie in her costume made each of the three jumps over it in the middle of the empty dance floor. Her friends then tried to persuade her to "go roond the entire company" in the club to collect money in the potty. But she was known to be a retiring ["backward" or "quiet"] sort of person and her friends finally gave up trying to pressurise her. Moreover both she and they were fairly drunk by now, and something happened in the club which distracted their attention from the task in hand, so that it was not completed. I overhead a woman at the next table saying she would "put somethin' in the lassie's potty", and saw her look disappointed when it became clear she would not be asked to do so.)

Meanwhile - back in Cauldmoss - we arrived at the social club once more, and began some "serious drinking", each contributing £3 to a kitty. Most of the women, apart from May's mother, one of her mother's friends and I, had at least six drinks each - mainly vodka, whisky and/or rum with mixers. Another woman joined us, and two more later on, and the talk ranged from a discussion of house renovations the council were doing on the scheme to descriptions of recent nights out, and from an examination of the problems of bringing up

children to an analysis of the personality of the wife of the manager of one of the pubs we had just visited.

There was also speculation as to what May's fiance, Jim, was doing "right noo"; he was having a stag night in the upstairs room of a bar in the local town (Julie's fiance, too, had his stag night in a pub in his home town near Glasgow on the same evening; she had her hen party). One of May's friends went to the payphone in the club, rang the pub where the stag night was taking place and talked to Jim. She told us afterwards she had explained to him she was sorry she could not be at the stag night "due to unforeseen circumstances". He said "Don't tell me you've peed yer pants!" [due to drink] she continued delightedly; "He's one step ahead o' me a' the time!"

The couple behind the bar told May that they had "got some [mutton] pies in", so May bought twelve and gave us all one. One of May's mother's friends left, taking a pie home for her elderly mother - a woman May called "ma maw [grandmother]" although they are not related. Our group broke up a little as the evening wore on; a couple of men came to join us, (one of them commenting that I would be going home to write notes on all this), and some of the women wandered off to talk to their friends sitting in the bar. May's mother decided that we should go home at midnight, several of our group being quite drunk.

After dragging Carol out of the toilets, where she had been sick, we made our way up the road. May (who seemed to be exaggerating her drunkenness) fell on the ice and pulled her mother down with her. One of her mother's friends decided to go straight home, rather than coming with us to May's house: "Ah cannae' handle any mair o' this carry-oan!" We decided, as May and Carol wandered off over the grass towards the burn, that the best plan was to go to the nearby house of Carol's parents and ask her father to drive May and Carol home, even though this was a distance of only about a quarter of a mile. Inside Carol shouted "What are **ye** doin' here, Dad? This is a fuckin' hen party!", before she and May, clinging to one another, fell over the settee, waking Carol's mother who was dozing on it. Everyone commented with amusement on Carol's frequent (and unusual) swearing during the evening : "She **never** swears; she's such a quiet lassie normally". They also pointed out several times that May will not be able to go out like this when she's married.

After May had been roused from her sleep in the cupboard under the stairs, Carol's father took May and Carol to their respective homes, while the rest of us walked back. May's mother, her friend from round the corner and I went into May and her parents' house, where May had gone straight to bed. While I counted the money in the potty (about £10), her mother enthusiastically recounted the evening's events to May's father. May's friend and her mother plotted that after May's show-of-presents on Wednesday evening they

would make her sit in a wheelchair belonging to the friend's mother and push her round the scheme. They also wanted to "do something" that evening to May's fiance.

(At Julie's hen night everyone except me - I was driving Julie home - got very drunk, and, as with May's celebration, several of the women went to dance with and talk to some of the men in the club. There was much talk of "makin' the most of yer freedom while ye can", that is, while one is single; of various affairs married men and women they know are having; of opportunities some of the married women present had had to become involved with other men. Back at Julie's home, her mother was waiting up to hear about the evening and to put Julie to bed. We looked at several of the presents Julie had been given and talked about the show-of-presents to be held two days later. Julie's mother showed me the dress she will wear at the wedding and Julie's "going away outfit").

The day after May's hen night, I called at her house and found her and her parents full of stories about the previous evening and other hen nights they have seen. They told me that Carol had been so drunk she went to bed with her fur jacket still on. May said to me "Ah hope ye're not makin' notes on all these strange customs!", and told me that the salt in the potty must be kept to sprinkle on the doorstep of the newly-wed's house "fer luck". On another occasion, she told me the salt is "fer fertility" and "it's a Highland custom" to use it at the hen night and keep it afterwards. Similarly, the top tier of the wedding cake is "put by" to be used at their first child's christening. They discussed their preparations for the wedding: finishing the decoration of May's new flat; collecting the wedding cake, and dress; having their hair done, and organising the show-of-presents, which was to take place four days later.

Since I have already described some aspects of May's show-of-presents in Chapter Four when I considered the social structure in Cauldmoss, I will summarise it here. Unlike the hen night, the dominating characteristic of May's show-of-presents was its formality; everything had to be "done right", with May demonstrating appreciation for all the help and gifts she had received, and her general ability as a hostess. The most important thing was to ensure that no-one was offended.

In the afternoon of the show-of-presents I joined May, her parents, and another of her friends to help move furniture around, clean the house and prepare sandwiches. Various friends and relatives were supplying "the baking", that is, cakes and "fancy" savouries. While we were having a rest, May and her father told me about "wedding traditions" in Cauldmoss, admitting that they are not all carried out "nooadays". It is unlucky for the groom to see the wedding dress before the ceremony; it is lucky if the bride wears "something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue" at the ceremony; it

is lucky to see a sweep, and if it snows at the wedding. It used to be a custom for a flag to be placed on the roof of the groom's house on the morning of the wedding, and his father would give a bottle of whisky to the person who put it there. The bride's father still throws handfuls of coins ("the scatter" - known in Glasgow as "the scramble") to children among those standing at the bride's gate as she leaves for the wedding.

The show-of-presents itself began at 8 o'clock that evening. Apart from May and her mother, there were eleven women present and myself, all in "smart" clothes. The procedure was for May - after offering them a drink - to escort two or three of her guests at a time up to her bedroom to look at all the presents she had received. These were carefully laid out (complete with giftcards where these had been given) on every available surface, including the bed. Where there was nothing to identify the gift-giver, May told her guests who had given what, and everyone voiced much appreciation: "That's lovely, is it no'?"; "It was really thoughtful o' them"; " Ah didnae' expect anything"; "Ye can niver ha' too many towels, ken?"

After this, May took the women down to the living-room and gave them another drink, and sandwiches and cakes. The conversation was a little more restrained than usual, although it "livened up" after May's "snooty" aunt and the more elderly women left. After a while, May's friends made her put on the decorated paper jacket and hat, and then sit in an old wheelbarrow. This we pushed through the scheme towards Carol's parent's house, scattering confetti over May as we went, and singing "Here comes the bride". I was the only one taking photographs. Jim lived in a nearby town but we knew he was staying the night at the house of one or another of his friends in Cauldmoss. We assumed he would be keeping May's father company at Carol's parents' house, to which he had been banished. One of her friends had brought a long dress and some lipstick and the plan was to creep into Carol's parents and surprise Jim, forcing him to put these on.

Once there, however, we found no sign of Jim; Carol's father said Jim had suspected this might happen and had gone somewhere "safe". We searched a couple of other houses, but did not find Jim, so we went back to May's parents' feeling a little deflated, and the party broke up quite quietly.

(Julie's show-of-presents took place at her mother's house on Sunday afternoon, and was even better organised and more formal than May's, being done in two shifts: guests were asked to come between either 2-3pm or 4-5pm. As with May, the house had been thoroughly cleaned and then the men sent away. Julie had kept a little notebook, recording who had given her which present as she received it, so that she would definitely know the origin of every gift at her show-of-presents and could write "more

personal thank-you letters" after the wedding. Julie herself showed her presents to most of her guests, although her chief bridesmaid also "took a couple o' folk roond . . . but only folk Ah kent [knew] already", as she said afterwards. Guests were then given tea or alcohol, and sandwiches and cakes.

After the event, Julie and her bridesmaid talked about how they had each "put ma foot in it", the former by giving an older workmate a sherry that the woman said was twice as much as she wanted, and the latter by talking about an old teacher of hers to two women she did not know very well - it turned out one of them was married to the teacher! But apart from that, the afternoon went well: "Nae upsets". Unlike May's show of presents, the afternoon did not end with Julie being paraded round the houses or with her fiance being "done")

May and Jim's wedding took place at 6pm on Friday, two days after the show of presents, in the Masonic Hall (Jim, who was not a church-goer, did not want a Kirk wedding). It was unusual in that most couples today in Cauldmoss marry in church on a Saturday, although it seems that it was common in the past for weddings to take place on different days of the week in the church hall or the Masonic Hall.

Arriving with another friend of May's at the Hall, we were greeted in the ante-room by May's mother, Jim's mother and his sister (his father being dead). Carol, and Jim's young niece "the flower girl", were waiting there too. In the hall itself, the minister stood on the dias at one end, near the organ, which was being played by May's uncle, the church organist. Jim and his best man waited in front of the dias. Four long tables were arranged down each side of the hall, and a very long "top table" stood at the end opposite the dias. Altogether there were around eighty guests. Just after 6 o'clock, May and her father arrived (having scattered coins to waiting children on their way to the hall), and her uncle played a trumpet voluntary on the organ. ("We want something a bit different tae walk in tae" May had said). She wore a nylon cream Edwardian-style full-length dress while Jim and his best man were in kilts. Carol was in a long peach dress and Jim's niece wore a long white one; May, Carol and the little girl all had flowers in their hair and carried bouquets. Most of the bride and groom's relatives and many of the guests wore new clothes; most of the men were in suits and several women had on fur jackets.

The minister conducted the short service, at the end of which the young son of May's friend went over to give May an imitation silver horseshoe "fer guid luck". There were some photographs, then the couple went out of the hall into the ante-room where they and their witnesses signed the register. The people who had prepared the buffet went round offering the guests whisky or sherry and when May and Jim re-entered the room soon after,

the minister proposed a toast to them, wishing them "long life and happiness". Many guests then photographed May and Jim cutting their wedding cake, which was standing on a table near the dias.

The minister then invited all the guests to "come and greet the bride and groom", and we filed past the wedding party, greeting them in turn, beginning with May's father, her mother, Jim's mother, Jim and May, Carol, the best man and Jim's sister and his niece. The bride and groom then moved to sit with their close relatives and the minister at the top table. The guests went through to the ante-room where the buffet was laid out, bringing their food back to eat at their table. The small bar in one corner of the hall was opened.

After everyone had finished eating and the cake had been distributed Jim got up and made a speech thanking various individuals for their help in organising and carrying out the wedding and getting their flat ready. His best man also gave a speech and read out some of the cards sent to Jim and May. May's father, a very retiring man, had decided not to speak.

Then a young man from the village played the accordion and May and Jim, and Carol and the best man, got up to dance the first waltz, while everyone clapped. Other couples joined them for the second dance, and when "The Birdie Dance" was played most of the women "got up" while the men sat down. The evening seemed a little disorganised because no one acted as master of ceremonies ("MC"), announcing the dances and encouraging people to get up. (Afterwards May's parents told me that the best man should have taken on the role, but he did not realise). When the accordianist took a break to get some food, a man who was supervising the hall asked for people to come up to the dias to sing. One man sang "The Battle of Glencoe" and a song about some women stuck in a toilet. A woman sang, and then the man who had made the announcement sang. But the hall was noisy and no one else volunteered. (Afterwards several people commented that the evening had been a bit "flat"; all the folk from Cauldmoss tended to stick together rather than "mixing" with May and Jim's relatives who had come from elsewhere for the wedding. The mark of a good wedding is when "both sides mix", and everyone dances together).

May came round distributing "favours" (traditionally these are removed from the wedding cake, but in practice are kept separate all along). The larger decorations went to her closest friends, the smaller ones to other women. Some guests moved from one table to another, chatting with their friends and exchanging pleasantries with strangers. Several people (including May herself to the dismay of many) got drunk; the minister had left discreetly at 8 o'clock. At about 10pm May and Jim left, supposedly for a hotel in the local town (although they actually spent the night at their new flat in Cauldmoss). Having

wished everyone goodbye they were followed out by a group of women (those who had been at May's hen night) who tried to take Jim's kilt off as he left. They succeeded only in putting confetti in his underpants.

The guests now began to leave, each first going to thank May's parents for "a lovely evening". I left with the others at my table. Some of them decided to go on to a social club for a drink. Next day, May and Jim went with Jim's mother back to her home in another part of Scotland, where they stayed for four days.

(Julie's wedding, as I said, took place in the parish church in the local town, and was on a Saturday afternoon, six days after her show of presents. Again it was a more elaborate affair than May's although the basic format was the same: a professional photographer took pictures, and the groom and best man wore frock coats. Afterwards a small boy presented Julie with a silver horseshoe, and after more photographs, everyone went to a social club [the venue of Julie's hen night] for the reception.

This time, in line with more conventional procedures, the wedding party greeted their guests as they entered the club, and the cake was cut after, rather than before the meal. Although no one commented on it, it seems that the sequence of events at May's wedding had been somewhat different from the norm, largely due to the practical circumstance of having the service and reception in the same room, and the wishes of their caterers. At Julie's reception each table was carefully set out with place cards arranged to encourage folk to mix, although some of the guests swopped them around. The meal was followed by sparkling wine and speeches, although this time it was the best man who was too timid to speak. The cake and favours were distributed later on in a pause from the dancing. Towards the end of the evening the couple, both having changed into smart suits for "going away", left for a hotel, and from there went on a week's honeymoon to Wales.)

I would agree with Charsley when he says that anthropologists should try

> to get away from the notion of timeless customs with meanings intrinsic to them. We have instead to put the things that people do into a real-time, real-place history, and see that people are expressing in their reworking of practices, conceptions of their actions which are neither comprehensive, nor exclusive, nor unchanging, and which they rarely even try to make explicit. (Charsley, 1984: 44).

As is evident from the above accounts of wedding rituals in Cauldmoss, villagers have clear ideas about, and spend a great deal of time planning, what should be done. There is widespread knowledge of tradition surrounding these events, although it tends to require the presence of an interested outsider - ideally an anthropologist - for villagers to concern themselves with trying to explain the origin and purpose of such practices. Most are

explained simply in terms of "luck" or "fer fertility", as we saw, or by reference to the fact that "it's always been done like that", informants sometimes admitting "Ah dinnae' really know **why** ". What emerges from an analysis of such rituals in Cauldmoss is that a degree of flexibility is involved, so that for example, a shy bride-to-be can avoid having to go round with her potty at her hen night, and being "dressed up" again after her show-of-presents. If the bride's friends are boisterous they can inflict much humiliation on the groom at the end of the wedding; if they are "quiet" then he escapes this.

In terms of time, the wealth of ritual surrounding marriage in Cauldmoss mark it out as a key point in one's life-cycle. Charsley considers a number of different interpretations offered by anthropologists and sociologists to account for theses customs, rejecting the suggestion that the "dressing-up" is a residue of the charivari, or a lifeless remnant of other earlier customs which had a generally accepted rationale. He considers the claim that the dressing-up emphasizes the fact that the woman is "leaving the state of irresponsible celibacy" (Noble 1981), and the idea that it is a ritual of rebellion in Gluckman's sense (1963), whereby women assert their autonomy before sacrificing it in marriage. He largely rejects these however, on the grounds that he encountered only a limited degree of "irresponsibility" in Glasgow bottlings; kissing men for money is "more like symbolic prostitution than the freedom of a single person" (Charsley ibid: 39), and because his informants stressed the potty and its contents (symbolising the stereotypical female role) and not the challenge to such stereotypes their behaviour may represent. My evidence from Cauldmoss leads me to disagree with him on these points, as I will explain below.

He goes on to say that he finds more validity in models based on structuralism and on the work of Van Gennep (see Chapter Three above). So, for example, he points to the fact that these rituals involve alternation between "the serious, proper, even pompous side . . . and a humorous, pretension-pricking, spontaneous or do-it-yourself side" (ibid: 28), each aspect adding significance to its counterpart. Similarly, he suggests, much of the meaning of the "taking out" (with its emphasis on women-only, on dressing the bride in gaudy costumes and having her kiss strange men while separated from the man she is to marry) depends on its contrast with the wedding (focussing on the family, the white dress and the joining together of bride and groom).

Neither my account of wedding rituals nor Charsley's exactly match Van Gennep's classic formulation of rites of separation from ordinary life, followed by rites of transition, and then rites of incorporation back into normal life - 'through with one's status changed. As is so often the case, and as Van Gennep himself recognised, different occasions emphasise one or more of these stages (he claimed that marriage stresses incorporation) and may

underplay the others. Charsley, who, as I noted, found that in Glasgow, shows-of-presents **precede** "bottlings", claims that at the former the bride-to-be "is performing as daughter in her parents' home", and only "secondarily as future daughter-in-law "(ibid: 40). Here, her usual status is emphasised before she is separated at the bottling and made to do things that represent neither the normal state before or after marriage, "things that nobody could ever do at any other time" (ibid: 40). The wedding itself, Charsley claims, starts liminal (with the bride in white fancy-dress) and then enacts her incorporation (he writes "re-incorporation") into the married state.

On the other hand, I found that the order of the events I encountered suggested that there is first separation and liminality - the "dressing up"- then formality in the show-of-presents, where more "normal" roles are played (although this is sometimes followed by another period of liminality). Then there is separation once more leading into incorporation into a new role, and ending in another period of separation (the jouney to the wedding, the ceremony itself and then the leave-taking and honeymoon), before the couple take up a normal place in the community. This all sounds rather complicated - and indeed it is - so I can only attempt a brief analysis here and I recognise my own interpretation may be open to question.

My informants stressed the subversive aspect of the hen night (rather than focussing on the potty and motherhood as Charsley reports). Their frequent and amused references to their own "unladylike" behaviour - their heavy drinking, "pub-crawling", loudness, exhibitionism and apparently aggressive sexual behaviour - indicate that there is indeed something of ritual rebelliousness in this event. Their repeated comments to the effect that the future bride should "make the best o'" her freedom while she has it, encouraged her (and them) to liberate herself from the accustomed roles of women to the extent that she acts like a man and would force "her man" to dress like a woman. Unlike Charsley, I noted a large measure of "irresponsibility" on this occasion, albeit of a licensed variety and only seen as such in comparison to the normal behaviour of women. The question of how far the hen night/dressing up represents her movement away from "celibacy" is an interesting one. It seemed to me to embody an awareness of the fact that marriage (traditionally, if not actually) marks the beginning of a young woman's sexual activity together with a recognition that this activity must be limited to her marriage. So, while the bride-to-be is encouraged to kiss as many men as possible she is constantly reminded that she will not be able to do this once she is wedded. Although this is an exchange between one prospective bride and many men, it may perhaps be seen as foreshadowing her relationship with her husband, whereby he supplies the cash and she provides warmth and affection.

Watching May collecting money in return for kisses reminded me - despite the very adult ribaldry with which it was accompanied - of the way in which small children in Cauldmoss are often given money by adults who are then repaid by a kiss. In fact, a great deal of the evening's events brought to mind the behaviour of children: the way we strode about creating a din; May's bright, frilly clothes; her jumping over the potty which contained a child's doll; even our song was like those children sing in the streets. Even more striking was the way in which she was pushed around the streets in a wheelbarrow, which is so reminiscent of a pram. When drunk, several of the women, including May, reverted to childlike behaviour, to the extent of rolling about together and falling asleep on the floor. Even those brides who do not take their mother out with them on their hen night, find her waiting up at home to look after them on their return.

Although the similarity between the bride and her friends on this occasion and little girls was not stressed by informants (apart from one woman saying May and Carol were "acting like a couple o' kids") the weight of evidence seems fairly convincing, and this interpretation is reinforced by the Glaswegian practice noted by Charsley of putting a baby's dummy round the bride-to-be's neck. We appear to have here a double role reversal - from female to male and from adult to child - or to be more accurate, from one who is about to become fully female and fully adult, and to one who acts like a man and a child in recognition (however subconscious) that behaviour associated with these last two roles will soon be unacceptable in her.

I would not agree with Charsley that at the show-of-presents, the bride-to-be acts primarily as a dutiful daughter; Charsley himself admits that he believed at one stage that her role as future wife and daughter-in-law was uppermost at this event. To me, it seemed that both aspects were stressed, though that of wife more than that of daughter. Having experienced through extreme informality the type of behaviour she must renounce, the bride-to-be has now to show, in a very formal way, that she can act like a good housekeeper and hostess, and that she possesses a mature awareness of her new obligations and responsibilities. She is the recipient of many gifts, (and the show-of-presents confirms that it is she - like other wives - who is to be in charge of the domestic sphere). But she must now demonstrate that she can acknowledge the help of others with more than a kiss. However this is still only acting "like" a wife. There are still, as yet, no men around and the formality of the event often dissolves towards its end, sometimes to the extent of it moving into another period of liminality with more drunkenness and dressing up.

At the wedding itself, the bride and her attendants are once more in fancy dress, as are the groom and his best man. Again we see a connection between the bride and a child: between

her long white frock and veil and a baby's christening gown and/or shawl, in the fact that part of her wedding cake becomes a christening cake, and in her arriving under the care of her father. This time, the bride is like a very young, passive and innocent child. The link is even stronger when we recall that just as an infant is officially born into the church at her christening, so a woman is being reborn as a wife on her wedding day. The ceremony begins with bride and groom being kept seperate, and as it progresses it becomes clear that this particular ritual is the one from the overall set which allows men to adopt the more active role. (The rituals leading up to the marriage itself focus on women; even the stag night seems a lower-key affair than the hen party and show-of-presents, perhaps because it is simply an exaggeration of male behaviour on a normal night out). The bride is handed by her father to her husband and it is men not woman who must make the speeches afterwards.

The wedding service and the meal and speeches are, of course, very formal affairs, and again we find stress laid on the role of bride and groom as responsible recipients and donors. It is important that the groom thanks everyone for their help, and presents, and that the bride distributes the favours from the cake, in such a way as to avoid offending anyone. Both circulate among their guests making sure everyone has enjoyed the meal and has a drink.

Before leaving the reception for good, most couples withdraw to change out of their costumes into clothes which are more like everyday wear, though very formal - even the bride often puts on a tailored skirt and jacket and a smart shirt-blouse. Although this is a time for seriously acknowledging their new status, the pair are not allowed to forget that they have still to undergo a challenging period of readjustment - the honeymoon and "settling down" stage. As they leave they are showered in confetti, and often find various practical jokes waiting for them in the room where they are to spend the night.

Meanwhile, those still at the reception are engaged in something approaching what Leach (1961) calls "masquerade" in so far as they seek to ignore for a time those things that separate them under normal circumstances. As I noted the most important thing at a reception in Cauldmoss is that all the guests "mix", especially those belonging to the different "sides" such as the bride's and the groom's respective families. The aim is to treat strangers (who may have suddenly become relatives) as old friends, to go beyond mere politeness.

In general, wedding rituals are the most elaborate form of life-cycle landmark in Cauldmoss, even more so than funerals. However, the same type of planning and organisation, if to a lesser extent, goes into funerals, christenings, major wedding

anniversaries, and retirement celebrations. These, and weddings themselves, all seem to be occasions which prompt villagers to consider their own position as well as that of the individuals at the centre of the ritual, to look back at their experiences and to think about the future. Weddings involve a great deal of reminiscing about earlier weddings and about the past activities of the main participants, as well as speculation as to what will happen to them in the years to come. All these issues usually appear in the speech made by the bride's father at the ceremony, and the service itself contains a prayer that "in due season" the couple will be blessed with children.

Before leaving the topic of marriage, I would like to refer back to the two informants whose descriptions of life stages I quoted. Both referred to separation or divorce as a major event in one's life, which reflects the fact that an increasing number of marriages are ending "before their time" in Cauldmoss. This is a trend criticised by villagers, especially older inhabitants; one elderly woman told me for example: "The younger generation today-they've got nae stayin' power. Ye got wives and husbands, they jist up-an'-off at the least wee thing!"

However as I mentioned in Chapter Four, there are several, even among older informants, who feel it is better to terminate a bad marriage (where a husband is violent or a wife notoriously unfaithful, for example) than to suffer "fer years on end". Divorce itself is achieved through a series of legal rituals, and those I met in Cauldmoss who had gone through this process spoke of the frustration of having to "wait on" solicitors and courts. "It seems tae drag oan an' oan, ken?" It is a time of introspection and appraisal of the partnership being dissolved; "When ye look back can it, ye feel a failure really", one woman told me, "But then, things can only get better from now oan, Ah suppose". Apart from the official proceedings, the only public rituals in acknowledgement of this change in the individual's status might be a night out with her/his friends, although most are too upset to do even this.

Old age.

Having reintroduced the distinction villagers frequently make between young and old, I will conclude this particular section by considering the range of comments I noted about "the older generation". For a couple, old age is generally taken to begin with the retirement of the husband (and/or the wife if she has a job). As with weddings, retirement parties involve formal and informal reviews of the individual's working life and looks forwards into her/his future. Traditionally s/he is presented with a clock or watch by her/his ex-employer; a fitting tribute to a life dominated by the work schedule.

In general, all groups treat the elderly (those over about sixty) with special respect and consideration. They are to be looked up to, and looked after. Just as, in a sense, all the children in the community are seen (especially on Gala Day and at village parties) as a collective responsibility and not simply as belonging to their parents, so "the auld folk" have their "treats" and "outings". These are financed through fund-raising activities and organised by committees consisting mainly of middle-aged and younger people. Most informants felt that the period after retirement **should** be "a well-earnt rest", a time of enjoyment and no worries, but that in fact, many old people today are hard up and lonely. As one fifty year old woman said:

> Ah think there should be mair done fer the auld folk. They worked a' their days an' noo they're no' gonna get nothin' tae keep thersel'. No, Ah think its a' wrang . . . when they're retired, they should get as much [money] as what they got when they were workin', Ah feel. For they've gave their services tae the community.

Another, in her thirties, drew some interesting parallels between the elderly and the unemployed. Talking about old people, she said:

> Ah feel sorry fer 'em because they're awfi' left oot. It's a'right if there's an auld **couple** that stay together. But Ah feel sorry fer individuals that stay by theirsel' . . . Ah think we could dae mair for them withoot approachin' them personally. Because it's like wi' the unemployed, they're proud, they dinnae' **want** help. But we could have mair facilities for them, instead o' jist leavin' them tae get on wi' the rest o' their life, which might not be that long. Ah think they could contribute mair tae society, mair than we gi' 'em credit for. They could help a lot wi' the young yins, ('cos they get on better wi' the young yins than the middle-aged group dae) an' they're no' **allowed** tae . . . Christmas must jist be like another day tae them, if ye're stayin' yersel', an' ye've no' got onybody. It's terrible; it's a shame. If ye're younger, ye even find that the older men willnae' even go tae the pub for a pint. They lose interest . . . Ah feel they're cut off, a bit like the unemployed: they see life goin' oan roond aboot them, but they're no' takin' part in it.

That younger people often underestimate the contribution their elders could make was recognised by another (27 year old) informant, though she felt this attitude is understandable. After all,

> Generations all change; yer attitude towards things changes as ye get older . . . An older person is wiser an' ye realise that when ye get older. For example, Ah ignored my parents' advice not to get married but they were right.

However, not all villagers have such positive views of the older inhabitants. When I asked a 23 year old unemployed husband if he felt sorry for the old folk, he retorted bitterly:

> Ah feel sorry fer **us** ! Older people, they've had their time, they've had a better time

than us. You ask somebody that's older, right, an' they'll turn roond an' say whit a hard time they had aifter the war. They'd **jobs**. People were gettin' jobs, they might no' o' been high paid jobs, but . . . An' they'll tell ye theirsel's - as soon as they finished work, what did they do every Friday, Saturday an' Sunday? Cinema. Who can dae that noo?

On another occasion a teenage girl told me that "the auld yins" are "shite stirrers!" and her friend pointed out that they like to criticise young people even when the latter have done nothing wrong: "They jist like tae moan". Nevertheless, even these girls treat old people with deference; it is rare to see an open display of condemnation or mockery towards an old person, even where s/he may be the object of complaints "behind her/his back".

Just as an individual's life begins with a shower of gifts and good wishes, especially at the time of the christening, so it must end with "a decent send-off. "A "nice" funeral in Cauldmoss is one that is well-attended, contains a sincere, though fairly short, sermon and concludes with cups of tea, sandwiches, a few alcoholic drinks, and a quiet chat with the other mourners. If an individual has not left enough money to provide a "decent" coffin and headstone for her/himself, her/his children or siblings should pay for them. Even those who are cremated should be commemorated by a small plaque. Funerals are largely retrospective affairs, with both the minister in his sermon, and the mourners over their tea and cakes, comparing the deceased in her/his early and later years, and discussing the way "things" in general have changed. But they are also prospective, the minister focusing on the deceased's timeless future (if I can put it that way) in the afterlife, and the mourners concentrating on the forthcoming disposal of the deceased's property and the welfare of those relatives and friends left behind.

Routines, plans and aspirations.

Preparation and spontaneity.

My aim in this thesis is to show that villagers value a way of life which demonstrates a high degree of order and that this order involves both the repetition of activities and events, and a sense of the controlled progression of events, over time. As far as the past is concerned, I have tried to show that villagers construct for themselves versions of history and social change that are meaningful to them, constantly comparing and contrasting "then" and "now". In terms of everyday life in the present it is important to have a routine, one that involves movement from one clearly defined activity or event to the next,

in a sequence that is familiar.

The collective representations concerning the stages of the life-cycle which I have described are a way of imposing regularity on change at a higher level. Moreover, pressure to conform involved in such collective representations is also a means of determining the nature of life in this community in years to come. I suggested earlier that many (especially older) villagers seem to feel, and some even say so on occasions, that change is a bad thing. In fact, it is change over which they feel they have little or no control that is usually meant here. The fact that villagers recognise that economic and technological factors in particular are likely to affect the extent to which traditional structures can be maintained, adds to their feeling of inability to control the future in the long-term. This feeling explains the relatively low level of interest in the long-term future found amongst many in Cauldmoss, at least in comparison with their attitude towards the past, the present and the short-term future.

This said, there is some variation among villagers as to the the degree to which they plan ahead and make provisions for the future. I use the expression "plan ahead" to cover the various aspects of villagers' relationship with the future - activities which are consciously or unconsciously orientated towards future events. These are attitudes towards what may or will happen that are either positive or negative - individuals' expectations, preparations and desires; their hopes and fears about the future which may be either realistic or pure fantasy. Obviously, most events and activities require a measure of forethought, although a highly structured routine can make advance preparation almost automatic.

Many housewives in Cauldmoss have a regular "shopping day" usually once a week or fortnight, when they visit a supermarket and other shops in one of the nearby towns. Here they buy the same items according to a series of cycles, knowing, for example, that they need to get a pack of hamburgers every week, and a packet of soap powder every other week. Many also visit shops in Cauldmoss every day (usually at roughly the same time each day) to collect a short-term supply of bread and milk and bulky items like potatoes. Some housewives have a more or less regular fixed menu for every meal and a set order of household chores - washing and sausage on Monday, doing the bedrooms and liver on Tuesday, cleaning the windows and stew on Wednesdays etc. If their child has physical education at school every Tuesday and Friday, say, they automatically get her/his kit ready either the night before or, if on the mornings in question, "in good time" so that the child is not delayed. Similarly, without much conscious thought, the housewife prepares her husbands' lunch-time "piece" [sandwiches] in the morning and his tea in the evening so that both are ready at fixed times that coincide with his going out to work, and coming in

from it. She also knows that he will require one of his best shirts for his regular Saturday night out, and so builds its washing and ironing into her schedule of tasks.

Seen in this way, a great deal of an individuals' time is spent in preparing for future events, although villagers do not perceive this sort of activity as "planning". The latter involves conscious forethought in the use of one's resources (time, money, energy etc.) in a deliberate attempt to bring about a desired end, usually one occurring at some point in the relatively distant, rather than the immediate or very short-term future. This explains why informants do not tend to see their intention to do a particular thing later on in the same day, or even on the following day, as a "plan".

Some plans and goals are, in a sense, retrospective, for example, where an individual must decide in advance how to allocate her income week-by-week in order to eventually "pay off" an item she already possesses and obtained on credit (whether this is a three piece suite or a house). She may at the same time decide to "put something by" each week to allow her to "pay cash" for another item when she has saved enough. An examination of villagers' use of money is very much related to a study of their approach to time. Their time is often measured out and evaluated according to what it can be sold for; the amount of money they have coming in frequently determines the ways in which they spend time, and the way in which they think about the future.

The concept of "budgetting" one's money means that, as with housework, preparing for future financial expenditure becomes a matter of routine and may not be seen as "planning". This is especially true in the case of money regularly allocated to certain forms of insurance where one pays for an ongoing service which, if the need arises, will cover the cost of an unforeseen and unwelcome event. Similarly "saving for a rainy day" - putting money aside "just in case" one may need it for an unseen future occurrence - does not tend to be seen as "planning".

One might well assume that those with the largest supply of resources will be those who make the most plans. However, the situation is complicated by the fact that these resources tend to be mutually exclusive. In Cauldmoss, as elsewhere, those without jobs, for example, tend to have an abundance of time, but no money and little of the energy required for thinking positively about and organising the future, and this inability reduces their opportunity to experience any sense of achievement. This is a point that emerges very clearly from the comments made by the unemployed as we will see below.

For the vast majority of villagers, time is measured out in terms of money earnt and spent, and money tends to come into the household on a regular basis. For most of those with jobs

this is every week, though a minority - those in "white-collar" jobs - are paid monthly. The small number of self-employed individuals tend to be paid on an irregular basis; as one such man said "sometimes it can be a bit of a worry getting your cash in". Old folk usually collect their pension once a week, as do mothers with their family allowance, although a small number in each group allow their benefits to mount up at the post office if they are not in immediate need of the cash. Most of the unemployed receive their benefit through the post every fortnight, although some get it every week.

The money budgets we collected from 24 villagers suggest that expenditure, as well as income, tends to follow a regular pattern. Many of those who completed money budgets pointed out, for example, that their telephone bill is due every three months, while "the electric" must be paid every two months (unless they have a pay meter). For council tenants the rent is due every fortnight, while owner-occupiers still paying a mortgage do so once a month. Other forms of credit have their own repayment schedule, and some villagers mentioned "paying off" some items (for example, from a mail order catalogue) every week, and others (a car, a suite, etc) once a month. Many TV and video recorders are rented or acquired on hire purchase and must be paid for every week. Some prepare for the future by making regular contributions to their personal savings or to a savings club (schemes where a group of people contribute a set amount each week, and after a fixed period - often ending just before Christmas - receive either vouchers to spend in the shop administering the scheme, or a lump sum equivalent to their total contributions). A few prepare for future bills by paying regular amounts into an account at the electricty board or by buying TV licence and telephone stamps. Many respondents pointed out that the premium on one insurance policy is due every week, for example, while it is monthly or six-monthly on another.

Those who borrow money, either from relatives or in the form of "Provi Cheques" (loans from a credit company which has an agent in Cauldmoss) usually pay them back on a weekly basis. Sometimes villagers find it necessary to take such a loan in order to make repayments on hire purchase agreements. A few villagers - 'though none of those completing money budgets - mentioned paying off a court fine, often on a week-by-week basis because they could not afford to "clear it in one go". Despite the different temporal rates according to which various bills must be paid, or different items bought, most villagers seem to have a fairly clear idea of their weekly outgoings (or fortnightly expenditure in the case of the unemployed). Moreover, many pointed out that the amounts spent on coal and electricity are greater in the winter than in the summer.

Of course, to claim that the various subgroups in this community may be characterised in terms of the degree of emphasis they place on preparation is to generalise very broadly.

Even amongst those who have commitments and opportunities - those who live in their own house, have a secure job and spare cash - I met individuals who were content to "take it a day at a time", and prefered spontaneity to careful planning, for example, when going on holiday. Many of the unemployed, while they may not have money to commit themselves to joining their friends on a projected night out, take great care in organising the cash they have, anticipating bills and other unavoidable expenses so that they can avoid being "caught short" as far as possible.

Hoggart tells us that among the working-class group he studied in the 1950s many wives would "slip out with their purses at 4.30 on many a day to get something for tea" (Hoggart 1957:133). Usually, this was not because they were living from hand to mouth, or because they were lazy and forgetful. It was simply "part of the climate of life; one moves generally from item to item "(ibid). It is true that this degree of spontaneity is valued by many informants, but in an age when supermarkets offer food in bulk at prices considerably cheaper than rural grocers, only those with adequate incomes can comfortably afford to "nip out" and "see what Ah fancy fer the dinner the night". Ironically, only the better-off in Cauldmoss can afford to act impulsively whenever they want, although, generally speaking, they seem to organise their activities in advance to a large extent. Even apparently spontaneous actions usually have a fixed place in the overall structure so that the family who decides "on the spur of the moment" to go off on a day trip will only go on Saturday or Sunday when the father does not have to work.

Similarly, housewives tend to buy "on impulse" at more or less regular intervals - at the twice-yearly sales, or after a certain period of "being good". Even so, such expenditure is seen as sufficiently daring to cause many women feelings of mild excitement (and sometimes shame). It is the sense that one is challenging in some small way the order under which one normally operates that makes limited spontaneity attractive. To act in a way which would undermine it completely is not desirable, since it would do away with the very structure that gives "anti-structure" its significance (to use Turner's [1969] term). I will come back to this question of impulse-spending in the section on aspirations in this community below.

It appears therefore, that breaks **from** routine tend to be **part** of routine in Cauldmoss. But what of those who not only appear to lack a "normal", **varied** routine, alternating between work and leisure, but also lack the means to provide "treats"for themselves - special times outside of normal time? Having up until now focussed mainly on aspects of time in general in Cauldmoss, in the following subsections I intend to explore some of the differences in temporal perspective which I have suggested exist between various groups. I will use material gathered

through both qualitative and quatitative methods. (Detailed findings from our second questionnaire and time and money budget survey appear in Appendix Three).

Routine, variation and planning among different groups.

Taken as a whole, the results of these quantitative techniques reveal, I think, a high level of temporal regularity in the lives of those in our samples, although the degree of variation - of breaks from routine - built into such routine varies among the different subgroups examined. In most cases, the differences observed between council tenants and owner-occupiers seemed largely to be due to the fact that the proportion of the unemployed and the retired (individuals or households) was higher in the former group than it was in the latter. With this in mind, I will concentrate in this summary on comparing individuals or households in terms of their employment status, also mentioning differences based on gender.

<u>The employed.</u>

A large majority of those in employment claimed to experience a high level of routinised variation on a weekly basis, with one or two days standing out as different from the rest. For most, this variation came at the weekend when many got up and ate meals at times different from during the week; over half had a special meal on either Saturday or Sunday. We found that among people with jobs, over half go out once a week (many go more than once), and most of those who do, go out on Saturday. Over half of those in employed households felt that certain weeks of the year are outstanding, mainly events and periods which are seen as enjoyable - Christmas and New Year and summer holidays. Most of them get new clothes whenever they feel like it, and many also get them for special (annual and one-off) occasions, overall probably buying more than any other group. The vast majority seem to redecorate their living rooms at least every four years, which makes them very similar to the other subsamples.

In terms of regular payments, those in employed households had more of everything (credit, insurance and savings) than any other group, which affords them much freedom of choice and security. This suggests that they, more than other groups, have a clearer sense of their relationship with time, a feeling of having control, over both present and future events. When asked, fewer respondents from employed households claimed to have worries about the future compared to those from other groups. The figure was half that reported by the unemployed. Although slightly more folk in unemployed households than

in employed households said they had things to look forward to, the nature of these things was on the whole more positive for the employed, and their anticipation less equivocal.

The unemployed.

On the other hand, we found that over half of the unemployed (all men apart from one) claimed to experience every day as being the **same** as every other, although most of the rest seemed to experience at least one day each week as different. This was Thursday for many, the day on which they received their benefits (on which several had a "special meal", although the nature of this meal was often different from that of the culinary treats enjoyed by those in employed households). A sizeable minority also later admitted that their behaviour at weekends is different from during the week in some respects (getting up and going to bed times and, for some, having a special meal then). This group contained the highest proportion (almost a third) claiming to eat meals at different times every day, though this was not sufficient grounds to prompt any to claim that each day feels different from other days.

Less than half the unemployed questioned had gone out on any evening during the previous seven days, and those who had, had gone out on far fewer occasions than employed or retired folk. As with employed respondents, Saturday night was the most popular evening for going out, which seems to signal an attempt by many of those who had lost their jobs to retain aspects of their old routine. This also allows them an opportunity to meet those who are working, and perhaps hear about any work that is available, either legitimate or "on the side".

Surprisingly we found that proportionally more respondents from unemployed households claimed that some weeks of the year stand out as different to some extent (73% compared to 58% of those in employed households and 56% among pensioners). However, it was clear that many of these unemployed respondents were referring to periods that stand out as being particularly sad, or to events that they felt **should** ideally be times of celebration, but which for them are a mixture of pleasure and pain since they cannot celebrate as tradition prescribes, or if they **do** celebrate properly, they must make sacrifices in other areas.

Far fewer of those in our sample of unemployed households than in employed or retired households were able to choose to buy clothes whenever they wanted, and several pointed out that they got them only rarely or only when they had spare cash. Some did, however, report buying them for holidays, Christmas or weddings. Proportionally more people in

this subsample bought them for their children at the beginning of the school terms, which reinforces the impression that expenditure on clothing is limited to occasions when it is seen as a necessity.

Again somewhat surprisingly, it seems that those in unemployed households had renewed their interior decorations (and their three-piece suite) more recently than the other subsamples. This could well be due to the fact that many of these individuals decide to "do up" the house - or at least the living-room - because they find themselves with little else to do but look at the walls, and perhaps some cash in the form of a redundancy payment (usually not more than a few thousand pounds).

One popular image of the unemployed in our society as a whole involves the assumption that they live mainly on credit, frequently finding themselves in financial difficulties and expecting the benefit offices to help them out. It was true that during our time in Cauldmoss, most of those we met from families without a wage-earner complained that they found it very difficult to manage financially, and several had gone to the DHSS for grants to help them buy essentials or pay large heating bills. However, while two thirds of currently unemployed households reported having used credit at one time or another (often when they had work in the past), only 40% were currently doing so, and several pointed out that their current credit commitments were for items to be given as Christmas presents, Christmas not being far away. This suggests that at other times of the year, the number using credit will be lower.

Far fewer of them had insurance or any form of savings than did those in the other subgroups. Together with the fact that a relatively small number of them had recourse to credit (at least in comparison to employed households), this suggests that the unemployed and their partners feel less in control of their lives, especially in the long-term, than do the employed. They cannot acquire or celebrate things as they would wish to the same extent, or with the degree of freedom of those in work, which allows them less opportunity to experience a sense of progression, of positive change over time. It is true that a substantial minority (40%) claimed to look forward to future events - most of them to Christmas, which is usually something of a mixed blessing. An equal proportion of this group worried about what was going to happen, which reflects their inability to control it. (At the end of this chapter I shall look at the experiences of the unemployed in more detail.)

The retired.

Turning to pensioners, a clear picture emerges from the questionnire results of a group in

which most individuals lead a highly structured existence with relatively little variety. Few claimed to alter their daily routine, even at weekends, and less then one third had a special meal each week. Less than half had been out on any evening during the previous seven days. On an annual basis, far fewer pensioners than those in other groups definitely felt that some weeks are different (although the figure is almost doubled - to 56% - when we include those who gave us ambiguous responses: "Well no' really, but . . "). For the most part, such events and periods stand out for positive reasons. Although on the whole they did not seem to be much better off financially than the unemployed (over half had neither savings nor endowment policies), they tended to have fewer demands on their money. They are not, for example, expected to provide lavish presents for their children and grandchildren at Christmas.

Several of them mentioned going on holiday, though often to visit children living away, or being taken somewhere by their children, which meant even those with no spare cash could go away occasionally. Moreover, as noted earlier, The Old Folks Association organised days out in the summer and a Christmas treat for the village's pensioners. On the whole, however, many old people in the village complained of boredom, and, when asked, only a minority of respondents felt that they had something to look forward to. On the other hand, only one in four retired respondents claimed to worry about the future; most had insurance cover, and had no debts to bother them.

One might suggest that it is the absence of challenge, in the form of uncertainty about the future and financial difficulty, which contributes to many elderly people's feelings that their days and their lives as a whole are lacking in variety. Many men, especially, missed having a job to go to, but unlike the unemployed, they knew that there was absolutely no possibility of work in the future. That pensioners do, in fact, tend to have more surplus income than the unemployed is indicated by the very high proportion of them who claimed to buy clothes anytime they wanted them. A high proportion could also afford the time and money to redecorate their living room fairly frequently even though the decorations were usually subject to less wear and tear than were those of younger families.

Women.

In comparison with the men in our sample, far fewer of the women questioned felt that certain days of the week clearly stand out as different. Almost half of them experienced every day as the same, with only small minorities "taking it as it comes", or finding every day different. More women than men stuck to fixed times in the specific daily activities we considered. The impression that the majority of women do not actually **experience**

much variation on a day-to-day basis persists, despite the fact that over half of them claimed to have a special meal once a week, and the fact that women (especially housewives) appeared to go out in the evenings to a far greater extent than other types of respondent. It seems that just "slippin' oot fer an' 'oors' bingo", or going to visit a friend or neighbour are not seen as landmarks on the temporal horizon to the same extent as are men's nights out.

On an annual basis, slightly fewer women than men claimed that certain weeks stand out as different, although fractionally more women felt that they had something to look forward to. They tended to worry less about the future, but the difference between the sexes was not great. Far fewer women than men disapproved of using credit, although in practice only 9% more women said they had in fact used it; many women were probably discouraged from doing so by fear of their husband's reaction. It is my impression, however, that there are some households in Cauldmoss in which the wife obtains clothes or shoes for the family from a friend or relative's "club book" [mail order catalogue], telling her husband she bought them in the town. Women acquire clothes on more occasions than men, especially at holiday times, when the seasons change, and for special occasions.

It was apparent that many of those who experience little diversity in their habitual schedule of activities have routines which actually involve events that are out of the ordinary in that they only occur on certain days, but that the routine aspect predominates to an extent which inhibits recognition of such variety. I suggest that it is those who feel they have little or no **choice** over whether (or how often), they go out - or go away on holiday, buy things, eat nice meals. etc. - who are least likely to be aware of those deviations from the normal daily schedule of activities which their behaviour reveals.

The vast majority of villagers would agree with the informant who told me "ye're better havin' a routine". They would also agree, however, that as another villager put it: "Everybody needs a wee break noo an' again". Just the knowledge that one could, if one wanted, create such an interval more or less when one wanted it, seems to prevent one's routine from becoming a source of oppression - even though one may not actually take many breaks. Since the ability to make such distinctions between activities is necessary in order to render the activitiess concerned meaningful, this suggests that for those villagers who peceive little variation from day-to-day and from week-to-week, life is lacking in meaning. This seems to be what the wife of an unemployed man meant when she said: "Ye jist exist, rather than livin'".

Material and social aspirations.

The section above suggests that a sense of control over, and diversity within one's activities and one's time tends to be based on how much money one has, and indeed, many villagers, especially those with little cash, give the impression that all they want is more of it: "They say money's no' everythin', but it **is.** 99%!" In his thesis on Cauldmoss Wight (1987) claims that this "fetishization" of money, which he says is often found among younger villagers in particular, is an expression of what he terms an "unrestricted" form of status evaluation. He believes that this is gradually encompassing the whole of British society, placing positive value on the attainment of high status measured in terms of wealth, manifested in one's possessions and activities.

This he contrasts with the "restricted" values involved in the more "traditional" working-class approach, which tends to be demonstrated most clearly by many older people in Cauldmoss. For them, money is **not** everything, and while they may acknowledge improvements in the materials conditions of life, they often point out that this has been accompanied by decreased levels of satisfaction and a reduced sense of morality: "We had nothin' in they days, but we were happier than folk are noo, an' there wis nane o' this vandalism an' divorce". They frequently accuse the young of being greedy, of being concerned only with the accumulation of possessions, or rather with the continual replacement of objects by "the next thing - something bigger an' better, an' they hiv' tae hiv' it right away".

This model points to various issues relevant to the exploration of time in this community. It suggests, for example, that different age groups in Cauldmoss are distinguished by their attitudes towards money and consumption. It implies that large numbers of working-class villagers (and most of those who may be described as middle-class) have goals and desires which require unlimited resources, both in terms of the power to meet any expense, and in terms of the ability to do so without time constraint - to be free to choose whether one buys or does something now or later. Although Wight himself focusses on the values governing the monetary element of this model, it is its temporal aspect which interests me here. I want to explore, not only how far villagers believe one's time should be spent acquiring and spending money - "time is money" - but also the extent of their aspirations to control time through the use of money; one might say that "money is time" in so far as it determines how one spends, and plans to spend, one's time.

I would agree that many villagers, especially the young, acknowledge that there is a certain prestige in possessing that which costs most - the "ultimate driving machine"; a wardrobe of creations by Dior; a holiday in the Bahamas; a large detached house full of

handcrafted furniture. However, for villagers, this prestige rests not on these items themselves but on the fact that they represent the owner's high level of freedom of choice. That the owner selected these particular things actually reduces the esteem in which most informants are likely to hold her-/him. Being items most villagers would not choose, they tend to be seen as "a waste o' money".

Everyone in Cauldmoss would probably agree that it is "a good thing" to have enough money to buy what one needs, and to some extent, what one desires, whether this is a bedroom-suite or "a decent burial". To have enough money to exercise a large degree of choice over what one buys is better still, but to make choices which meet with the approval of the other members of one's reference group is best of all - this is "puttin' yer money to guid use". Therefore, I would argue that restriction dominates in this community. Even those on the scheme whose living-room, clothes, car, holidays, etc. (and their comments about those of others) suggest a belief in the connection between wealth and prestige, still wish to avoid the label of "snob". Most do not overstep the mark, and so remain "nice folk". Very few alter, or wish to alter, their lifestyle to the extent of putting themselves in the same category as the "stand-offish" (middle-class) incomers in the private houses, the group which has most social contacts outside the village.

As the number of scheme dwellers who aspire to a degree of luxury in their lives has increased, the easier it has become to remain in the mainstream of village life while surrounded by one's (relative) opulence. The fact that villagers recognise that everyone in British society is prey to the media's pressure to consume has broadened the bounds of acceptability in terms of what one can legitimately own and do while remaining a full member of the community in Cauldmoss. In any case, advertisers, with their sophisticated targeting techniques, make use of the fact that, while most individuals value freedom of choice, they attach equal, if not more importance to the use of particular goods as markers of one's identity as part of a subculture. For the vast majority of villagers, I would suggest that a sense of having a position within the relatively stable structure of this community is preferable to any attempt to branch out and make a place for themselves in the wider society (although a small number of villagers from the scheme have done so, usually those who have left Cauldmoss for higher education and then a job elsewhere).

As I noted in Chapter Four, while, in theory, villagers acknowledge that a high level of education is prestigious, in practice most do not expect or even desire that their own children will attain qualification beyond a few 'O' grades. (In this way, the attitudes of many villagers towards education is similar to their approach to money). The ideal is to show that one can apply oneself to schoolwork but only up until one reaches the stage when one should begin to demonstrate one's independence, in preparation for marrying and

leaving home. To prolong one's studies means to place oneself in limbo, being seen neither as a schoolchild nor as becoming a full adult. This structure persists even when few school-leavers are able to actually find work.

The educational system encourages a forward-looking approach. To remain within it means to be constantly working toward ever-increasing goals. Those who do remain in it past 16, especially if they go on to higher education, are those most likely to eventually take up a job with a clear career structure involving regular advancements in status and pay. Both their educational and work experience tend to bring them into contact with people and ways of life different from those they have known in the village.

Most parents on the scheme want their children to "get on" and "do well" but for most of them this does not entail their children adopting a totally different lifestyle and set of attitudes. Rather it involves staying in the community or at least somewhere nearby, and sharing the same basic values and experiences as their parents, with sons and unmarried daughters having a secure job (usually semi- or unskilled, like their parents). Hopefully, their children will have a happy home life and be able to enjoy some of the comforts and pleasures their parents could not in their own early life, such as new fitted carpets and kitchens, and holidays abroad. But even these limited aspirations now seem beyond the reach of the many young people who cannot find work, and who must rely on their parents for any luxuries they do enjoy.

For those with some means, remaining part of this community does not preclude a sense of advancement and some freedom of choice, so that many, as one of them put it, feel "quite content as I am". It is usually those who have little means who claim that their only desire is for "money, and the more o' it the better", saying that if they had it, they would "go straight oot and blow most o' it". I got the impression that this sentiment often arises from a sense of deprivation and rejection. Feeling that they cannot conform with the collective expectations of the group as a whole, such individuals tend to express a desire to by-pass these norms altogether. Several unemployed informants described occasions on which they had gone out and "spent every penny" of a windfall they had received unexpectedly, simply in order to alleviate their boredom and to re-establish some sense of control over events, and because they wanted "something tae look back on . . . Ye get that sick o' always scrimpin' an' savin' - never bein' able tae enjoy yersel'".

They usually regard such incidents with a mixture of pride and shame, recognising their audacity in challenging a norm which requires careful management of one's resources. Asked what they would do with a large pools win, many claimed initially that they would immediately "go mad wi' spendin'". But many went on to admit that in reality, "If

it came tae it, Ah'd probably carry on much the same as Ah am the noo". The fact that informants acknowledge the unconventionality of their behaviour on limited "spending sprees" (as one person called them) suggests that most villagers do not tend to seek this type of immediate gratification. While, as I have argued, many villagers claim that their philosophy is "to take each day as it comes", most seem to desire both some pleasure in the present and also the means with which to plan future security and treats. Although a minority of villagers **do** appear to be almost wholly present-orientated in terms of spending the money they have, no matter how large the amount, they are clearly seen as deviant by the majority. This was especially true of the couple who regularly spent all of their relatively large income on alcohol as soon as they got it, and did not look as far ahead even as the next meal-time when they had to feed their children.

The case study in Appendix One reveals that one informant at least believed that an increasing number of villagers are abandoning the practice of saving a little money (which implies this is the norm) in favour of enjoyment in the present. On the other hand, my own impression was that this was largely true of those who felt they had to choose between **either** present **or** future gratification, being unable to have both. The majority of informants, especially those with adequate means, seem to feel they have sufficient control over their lives, and/or enough variety in it, to obviate the need for such binges. (This does not mean that they are not ready to "splash out" occasionally, especially when this constitutes an act of generousity - such as buying an extra round for one's friends in the pub - as long as this does not interfere with the smooth running of their household). As I noted above, some housewives demonstrate feelings of guilt over their "impulse buys" which seem to be one means by which members of this group introduce variety into a routine often experienced as unrelenting.

Those who display a lack of patience in regard to the acquisition of goods are criticised, just as are those who express a desire for wealth or status for its own sake, regardless of the way it is gained. Even those who say they would like to have large amounts of money or goods as soon as possible and by any means, actually often evaluate others according to more "traditional" criteria: how was the money made? How is it spent? What is the owner's attitude to those with less? Has increased prosperity changed the individual's personality? Apart from the fantasies some describe, it seems to me that the vast majority of informants share the same basic values about the relationship between time, money and consumption.

The ideal (for men at least) is to spend a significant proportion of one's time working to earn sufficient money to enable one's family to remain solvent while acquiring all the necessities and some luxuries, including treats such as nights out and holidays. That the

norm is to obtain one's income by **working** for it (rather than by "gettin' somethin' fer nothin'" in the form of welfare payments or obtaining it via illegal means) is demonstrated by the way villagers praise a "hard worker" and condemn those who are seen as lazy, and those who "fiddle" or steal. "Ye're better **earnin'** yer money" is a sentiment often expressed, and an unemployed man explained that he and his wife would "rather be workin' than claimin' on the bru . . . Ye're looked on like a scrounger . . . Ye'll a'ways get scroungers on the bru . . . but the majority o' workin' men **want** to work . . . be able to hold their heads up in the street".

A large minority of villagers, especially amongst the young, however, have no choice but to "sign-on". For most this is because they cannot find work; for some, it is due to the fact that the only work open to them commands a wage lower than the welfare benefits to which they and their family are entitled. Since a man's wage is seen as reflecting his worth in Cauldmoss he would be sacrificing his self-respect and making a "mug" of himself by taking such a low-paid job. Those on benefit or low wages who engage in various types of "fiddles" (usually, defrauding the DHSS or electricity board) or illegal acts, such as shop-lifting, justify what they themselves recognize as illegitimate behaviour by referring to the need to provide for their families.

Within limits, individuals in Cauldmoss can vary in terms of what they see as "necessities" and "luxuries", and the actual items which constitute "the essentials" change over time (although the older generation may not adjust their evaluations in line with the general escalation of standards throughout our society). Money left over should ideally be used to provide a basic level of security against risk or saved for a specific purpose, such as a wedding. If no such event is impending, then it is legitimate to spend one's money on "pure" luxuries, taking care to avoid appearing "to go one better" or "put yerself above" other villagers. Better still, is to use surplus money to help one's relatives.

Many informants, especially housewives, occasionally use spare money to buy "bits and pieces" to "brighten the hoose up" - a new rug, an ornament, a plant. In a way this is adding variety to their physical environment on a more or less regular temporal basis, just as having "somethin' a wee bit different fer oor tea" every so often provides a change. The same may be said of alterations on a larger scale in the home; one wife who complained of boredom said that often "Ah take a notion to redecorate an' change things aboot, although we don't have enough money tae dae it as often as Ah'd like". It is important to have a sense of change in the form of gradual progression. One council tenant told me that he and his wife wanted to make their spare bedroom into a playroom for their two young children: "It would be one more step further on . . . ".

Talking about "improvements", whether these are to do with the condition of the house, the state of a person's health or their level of income, for example, villagers frequently use expressions such as "Ah'm/We're getting there", sometimes adding, "slowly!", or "bit by bit". One young man contrasted his current sense of direction with his lack of it previously: "Before Ah wis married, before Ah met Christine, it wis jist, Ah mean, pointless time . . . jist wages an' goin' fer a drink. Jist sort o' livin', ye know whit Ah mean? Ye werenae' actually gettin' onywhere."

This suggests that even those individuals who claim that they do not tend to make plans and think much about the future (beyond hoping their children will find work and "settle down") have some image of "hoo Ah'd like things tae be . . . get the hoose a wee bit better an' that . . . " Many individuals seem to feel that, as Hoggart puts it, "the big and long-distance rewards are not for them" (op.cit: 135), prompting them to declare, for example, "Ah've nae great ambitions". Nevertheless, for many families, (at least for those who are not struggling to make ends meet), "daein' the best we can" or "just gettin' on wi' it" involves a gradual progression towards a goal, albeit one which may be inarticulated and vague, or which may alter to some extent over time.

This is true both of those living on the scheme and those in their "own house", although the latter, because they usually have more financial resources, tend to have a clearer idea of what they want in the future. Extreme examples of this clarity of vision were found among the small number of individuals who ran their own businesses in Cauldmoss. The owners of the two small haulage firms both revealed detailed plans not only for the business itself, but also for their private lives to some extent - the two being intertwined. However, while they could talk at length about their business and social commitments, about building extensions to their houses, or about their pension arrangements for example, they did not feel they could exert total control over their own or their children's future. The well-being of their business depended on economic conditions in general and, as one of them said when discussing her eldest daughter: "We'll jist have tae wait an' see hoo she does and hope she can find a job". She did refer to her daughters' "career" however, a term very rarely used by those on the scheme.

Several of the incomer couples among the owner-occupiers said that they were looking forward to being able to leave Cauldmoss and buy a "nicer" house elsewhere. Buying any sort of house is not a realistic goal for the great majority of those on the scheme, although many occasionally fantasise about doing so. Some informants admitted they had enough money to buy their council house (which is far cheaper than buying a non-council property) but villagers are unanimous in agreeing that "it's no' worthwhile"; "Ye niver ken who yer neighbours will be" and "It needs tae much daein' tae it". The small number

of villagers who have managed to acquire their "ain hoose" off the scheme in Cauldmoss are often seen as "snobs", although most make great efforts to show that they have not changed and will point out the drawbacks involved in owning your house in an attempt to "play down" their achievement (the "heavy" mortgage payments; having to pay for, or do, all the repairs etc.).

Another reason many scheme dwellers give for not wanting to buy their house is that it is situated in "no' a very nice street' or in "a bad bit" of the scheme. Quite a few council tenants want to move to "a better hoose" within the scheme. This fact does not **necessarily** support the argument that many villagers aspire to increased levels of material well-being, however, since what is often meant by "better" (while it may involve a "sounder" house on a "tidier" street) is having a number of rooms more appropriate to the size of one's family. Most couples move to a different council house at least once, and in many cases several times, during the course of their lives, and this appears to be one of the key areas in which informants feel a sense of progression.

Moving to a new house involves an alteration in one's physical environment and can also constitute a change in one's social position to some extent if one moves to a "nicer" part or a "worse" part of the scheme. It also marks the beginning of a significant temporal period in one's life, which will be used later to locate other events in time. "That happened no' long aifter we moved tae the Main Street" or "It wis while we were stayin' [living] up at Bingend". That such a move is seen as the end of one era and the beginning of a new one is evident in villagers' expectation that those moving from a house should leave it as clean as possible, while those moving to a new home should work hard on it - cleaning and often completely redecorating, even when this is not strictly necessary in practical terms. Not only did the young man who took over our flat in Cauldmoss totally redecorate, he also (to our dismay) pulled up and threw away most of what we had planted in the garden, so keen was he to make a "fresh start", in what was after all the first home of his own.

Such behaviour when moving house is very reminiscent of the rituals most villagers carry out every New Year. Some couples redecorate just before this time; most of those who do not decorate clean their house very thoroughly. Both these acts are mirrored in the symbolic cleansing of the house which occurs just before "the bells" at midnight on Hogmanay, as the male head of the family carries out the ashes from the hearth (the heart of the living-room, indeed of the house as a whole, round which villagers sit most of the time while at home). The (traditionally) tall, dark man who "first foots" the house as soon as possible after the last chimes have died away,"brings in" not only the New Year but a piece of coal to give to his host. Although informants said that this coal - like all the ritual items involved - was simply "fer good luck", it represents the replenishment

of that which signifies the centre of the household. A new fire is quickly made up and lit. The first foot (who is often a relative) also brings with him a silver coin for his host - a symbol of prosperity - and an unopened bottle of spirits.

(Everyone in fact has their own bottle of alcohol and opens it after midnight so that once they have greeted each person present [with "Happy New Year" or "All the best", a handshake or a kiss], they can exchange drinks. It seemed to me that alcohol is very much the "gift of the spirit" here [to misquote Mauss' (1954) phrase] in that villagers must give away large amounts of it and should not refuse to take a drink from another's bottle - except in order to avoid becoming extremely drunk. This attitude represents the ideal basis for successful social relationships in Cauldmoss, although in practice there are many different forms of reciprocity at work in villagers' lives, with some gifts being freer than others, depending on the relationship between the partners and the nature of the thing exchanged. As Bourdieu points out, a consideration of gift exchange in any society should reveal very clearly the vital importance of time as a medium for the construction of meaning, since it is the **interval** between gift and return-gift which largely defines the relationship between giver and receiver. [Bourdieu 1977: 4]).

Just as Hogmanay is a period which for most villagers stands apart in terms of the drinking and socialising that takes place, so it is also the traditional time for individuals to take a step back from the whirl of everyday preoccupations in order to look with more objectivity than usual at their lives. Sitting drinking with friends, they share their thoughts about what has happened to them over the past year, and their hopes, plans and dreams for the new one. These can include, for example, wishing a husband or child will find a job; praying that a relative will recover from an illness; promising that the garden will be finally "sorted"; resolving to give up smoking or to lose weight; hoping that the council will at last offer them a new house, etc.

Individuals in this community, especially the council tenants, frequently speak of waiting: "Ah'm waitin' on word [a letter] frae the cooncil/the bru/the hospital" are expressions heard every day in the village, and Wight and I would often call on someone and find them "waitin' on the electric' man comin'" or "waitin' on the coal wagon". While on a long-term basis most informants claim to make few plans, and to anticipate future events only to a limited extent, on a day-to-day level, many seem to spend much of their time in a state of expectation. Several folk revealed an awareness of this in comments such as: " Ah seem tae be a'ways waitin' on **somethin**'!", but most experience delay so often that it has become part of their routine. Although villagers often feel they have little choice in the matter (since only those with influence - "the right contacts"- or the right amount of money have the power to "speed things up") they frequently complain about having to wait. In

line with the importance villagers give to their accommodation, the council house waiting list is a particular source of controversy and villagers often voice their resentment of those who they feel have jumped the queue; "It's no' fair, when we've been hangin' on fer so long".

On the other hand, many informants also express the belief that to have to wait is "a good thing" and "makes ye appreciate whit you've got". This becomes clear if we look at some of villagers' attitudes towards the upbringing of children. Hoggart states that "It is a working-class tradition of long standing to indulge not only children but young people all the way up to marriage" (op.cit: 52-53) and this is clearly part of the ethos in this particular community. Young people are expected to be by nature somewhat impulsive and extravagant, and to want to do, and to have, something immediately. But the very fact that this is seen as characteristic of those who are not yet fully members of the group indicates that the norm for adults is different, involving patience and a "steadier" approach to life. One mother, for example, described her 16 year old son's behaviour on receiving his monthly pay :

> He lives like a lord fer one week and then nothin' fer three weeks! When he gets £300 in his hands he thinks "Oh it's great". He's awa' buyin' claes . . . but he's jist a young boy . . . he's somebody to fall back on and at least he's **workin'** fer his money. Ah wouldnae' dae it, but Ah've a wee bit mair experience than what he has.

As we saw some villagers - especially elderly ones - are less tolerant, and condemn the young who, although unemployed, want to move as soon as possible to their own flat which they immediately want to fill with furniture and gadgets. "In ma day, if we wanted somethin' we had tae wait till we could afford it, but young yins dinnae' want tae dae that noo. They'll neither work nor want". Even young parents acknowledge that there is a danger in giving their children whatever they want straight away; "Ye've got tae be careful or they'll never learn ye've got tae **work** fer what ye got".

This quotation demonstrates the importance of paid employment in this community, and I want to end this chapter by focussing on this area of life, and on its counterpart - leisure.

Work, leisure and unemployment.

The use of time by different groups, and the definition of activities.

The results of the time budget survey we conducted provide some information on the actual proportion of time spent on work, leisure and other activities by those in different groups (see Appendix Three for a fuller discussion). As a whole the sample spent most time each weekday on sleep, followed by paid and unpaid work, then by leisure, personal needs, and lastly childcare. At weekends, the order changed, with sleep being most important, followed by leisure, paid/domestic work, personal needs, childcare. Some respondents left large amounts of time unaccounted for on their forms, and the difference between groups in this regard is interesting.

As one might expect, employed men were the group who had least "blank" time on their diary sheets. Presumably this is because they tend to be aware of what they do and for how long through the day. On average, full-time working women and pensioners left an intermediate proportion of gaps between their stated activities, with housewives and the unemployed displaying a higher level still. The highest percentage of unspecified time was found on the diary sheets of women with part-time jobs, and it was this group which recorded the largest proportion of time spent on "personal needs". One might suggest that these women, faced with the double task of work both outside and inside the home, feel a need to limit the time they spend entirely engaged in public, purposive activity, and try to create "space" for themselves (for instance in the bathroom) away from both the demands of employer and family (and those of form-waving anthropologists).

The unemployed (all men) spent substantial amounts of time sleeping, far greater than those with jobs. As many unemployed individuals said "What is there tae get up for?" Housewives also slept for many hours, 'though not as long as the unemployed, while pensioners appeared to have sleeping patterns similar to those who work. Employed men seemed to sleep less than any other subsample on weekdays, due to the fact that they spent almost ten hours on average at work per day (including travelling times). Only those with full-time jobs claimed to do more work at home at weekends than they do on weekdays.

If we ignore the results of pensioners (where we had only one female and no males providing information on weekend activities), it was also among those in full-time work that we found the largest increase in leisure time at weekends compared to during the week, especially among women workers. Male pensioners appeared to devote a far larger amount of time on weekdays to leisure than did any other group, followed by unemployed

men. It is significant that the unemployed recorded almost the same amount of leisure on weekdays and at weekends; in fact they displayed relatively little variation between weekdays and weekends in any of the activities listed. This finding provides quantitative evidence which supports the claims often made by those in this subgroup to the effect that every single day is the same: "The weekend's the same . . . ye cannae' even look forward tae that onymair".

Occasionally it was difficult to decide how to classify an activity recorded by a respondent on the diary sheet, since what was regarded as a pleasure by one individual seemed to be a chore for another. In fact, however, there is usually a high level of agreement among villagers as to the classification and evaluation of different activities, as we discovered when analysing the results of our first questionnaire in 1982.

We found that those activities which the vast majority agreed were "work" were all paid employment; for example, coal mining, cooking school meals and selling insurance. An analysis of indigenous definitions of the term "work" and "job" revealed that these describe an activity which is done in return for money (the most common definition), or which involves effort of some kind, or which is unenjoyable, or which is something that **has** to be done. Often all four features were mentioned, and on the whole, work - despite villagers' desire for it - appears to be a somewhat alienating experience. However, there was some recognition among members of our sample that "work" can sometimes be pleasurable, and that not all money-gaining activities or all necessary tasks are "work".

By looking at how different terms were explained by informants, it is clear that the terms "occupation" and "profession" describe a job done by intelligent, skilled people. "Hard work" usually implied considerable physical effort, but it could also mean a mentally demanding job, or one which involved a high degree of coercion or dislike. The one example of paid employment which was not described by the majority as "work" was taking part in a Youth Opportunities Scheme. This is probably due to the minimal pay and the temporary nature of the work involved.

The results suggest that there are two semantic possibilities for the word "work": "work" and "**real** work", the former being inclusive of the latter. A nice illustration of this came when someone was asked if, when he digs the garden, he sees that as work. "No", he said firmly, "with the garden ye're workin' fer yerself". It seems that only paid employment is regarded as **real** work, and, although it is not often articulated, another of its facets is that it occurs in a specific work-place which is not the home. For example, cooking meals for your children was described by 25% of the sample as "work", by 24% as "pleasure" and by 33% as "a necessity", while preparing school meals was seen as "work" by 92% of those

questioned.

Those activities for which "work" constituted the largest number of replies, but where it was not a majority verdict, were mainly household tasks, such as repairing a car, or doing the washing-up. These chores tended to be described by others as "necessary" or "unenjoyable" - the "work" involved in them seems to be of a different nature from that entailed in a formal job.

The questionnaire results suggest that "leisure" is definded in opposition to work, and some responses specified this, for instance: "Leisure - not hard work, quite enjoyable", or "Noo, that's real work" as opposed to "That's jist a pleasure" or "That's jist a wee hobby". Leisure activities are not usually done for money or because of coercion, and they are enjoyable. Many seemed to regard the word "leisure" as synonymous with "pleasure", the only difference being that "pleasure" sometimes involved getting money. Both were usually different from "work" and both involved free choice: "Leisure - because it's no' a thing ye **need** tae dae". Of the seven activities described by over 70% of respondents as "leisure" or "pleasure", only one, playing football, involved strenuous activity, and only knitting was a productive activity.

It would appear therefore that activities are classified and evaluated according to a variety of criteria: whether they involve acquiring money; whether they are enforced or freely chosen; the pleasure they entail. As we saw, the place in which an activity occur may also determine the nature of the activity as perceived by villagers. Moreover, the way in which any activity is evaluated, the meaning it has for villagers, rests largely on the distinctions existing between it and other activities and the temporal characteristics of activities and events are key distinguishing features.

Work and leisure.

While the members of all socities need to distinguish between different types of activities, and to have routines to some extent, not all cultures make the rigid differentiations evident in our society (as represented by Cauldmoss). Non-industrial societies, for example, where time has not become a commodity to be rationally employed, operate in ways unlike our own:

> A woman gathers on one day enough food to feed her family for three days, and spends the rest of her time resting in camp, doing embroidery, visiting other camps, or entertaining visitors from other camps. For each day at home, kitchen routines, such as cooking, nut cracking, collecting firewood, and fetching water, occupy one to three hours of her time. This rhythm of steady work and steady leisure is maintained

> throughout the year. The hunters tend to work more frequently than the women, but their schedule is uneven. It is not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two or three weeks. Since hunting is an unpredictable business and subject to magical control, hunters sometimes experience a run of bad luck and stop hunting for a month or longer. During these periods, visiting, entertaining, and especially dancing are the primary activities of men. (Lee quoted in Sahlins 1974: 23)

As we saw in Chapter Three, until the rise of industrial capitalism, although individuals in Western society recognised a difference between labour and leisure, the two tended to merge in practice (see also Malcolmson [1973]; Lowerson and Myerscough [1977]; Bailey [1978]). As Raymond Williams puts it, "The specialization of 'work' to paid employment is the result of the development of capitalist productive relation" (Williams 1976: 282). Eventually "leisure became the obverse rather than the complement of work" (Parkin 1979: 318.) The force of this distinction is brought out by Sahlins:

> . . . the economy as the dominant institutional locus . . . throws a classification across the entire cultural superstructure, ordering the distinctions of other sectors by the oppositions of its own - precisely as it uses these distinctions for purposes of its own (gain). It effects what might be called 'symbolic synapses', conjunctions of oppositions from distinct cultural planes which thus take the form of homologous differentiations - such as work/leisure : weekday/weekend; or "downtown/uptown: impersonally/familiarity (Sahlins 1976 : 216)

The centrality of work and the time structure it involves in the culture of Cauldmoss was indicated by the woman who declared "Its built into ye, work." The social psychologist Marie Jahoda claims that paid employment provides five "categories of experience" which she sees as "enduring human needs":

> . . . the imposition of a time structure, the enlargement of the scope of social experiences into areas less emotionally charged than family life, participation in a collective purpose or effort, the assignment by virtue of employment of status and identity, and required regular activity. (Jahoda 1982: 59).

She goes on to point out that, apart from employment:

> There are of course other institutions that enforces one or more of these categories on their participants; but none of them combines them all with as compelling a reason as earning one's living . . . time experiences are structured in industrialised society through the ubiquity of employment conditions (ibid).

It is my impression from listening to many conversations involving reference to work, that villagers do indeed value the various aspects of employment Jahoda describes, although they tend to be more conscious of some than others.

In Cauldmoss, people concentrate on the financial rewards when asked why they work or

want to work, although they also frequently mention wanting to avoid being seen as lazy, and a desire to " . . . get oot o' the hoose". Employed men very rarely speak of valuing the discipline and regularity work imposes, but it is clear, from what is said about the effects of joblessness, that the time-structuring involved in paid employment is important. Older people, especially, bemoan the fact that the young cannot get jobs and therefore forget how to get up "in good time" each day. Many who lose jobs describe how they have become conscious of time passing more slowly than it did before, and the case-study in Appendix One provides a good example of this.

Formal employment provides a basic grid against which a man's life is charted out. It defines "free time" during the day, at weekends and and at the annual holidays; pay-day, which is often the cause for a celebratory night out, marks the passage of one week, or one month, to the next. As I said earlier, for a young person, getting one's first job indicates that one has moved into the adult world. Although young couples in Cauldmoss sometimes get married and start a family while both are unemployed, it is something which is not encouraged. In general, a job allows one to move from one stage in the life-cycle to another - promotion, for example, can mean a change in lifestyle, and in this work-conscious community, retirement is often seen as marking the begining of the end of one's life.

The ideal in Cauldmoss is a forty-hour working week and a working life often spanning fifty years. When asked, most informants said that if they earned the same pay for working only twenty hours a week, they would seek a second job to occupy their time. They believe that, on a national scale, the only feasible solution to unemployment is early retirement, which is seen as a legitimate reward after many years of work. As for job-sharing: "I think ye've either got to **hiv** ' a job or ye've **not** got to hiv' a job . . . " is the typical response. Government employment schemes are condemned in Cauldmoss partly because of the time scale of the work involved. One teenager did not want work on a Youth Opportunities Scheme, but " a **right** job, a proper job, not jist being there and jist getting used tae the job and then havin' tae leave'.

The preoccupation with very regular hours of work emphasises the feeling that the employee is selling his time rather than his labour (which contributes to alienation from the actual tasks involved in work). Time-served tradesmen in Cauldmoss are proud of their skills, but lay stress on the hours worked and the rate of pay, rather than on how long a specific task takes. Thus, one is constantly made aware of the value of one's time, including one's "free time". As Sahlins suggests, because "free time" is only really meaningful and valuable when juxtaposed with "working time", leisure cannot substitute for work. This relationship is important in understanding the experience of unemployed men (and also that of retired males) in Cauldmoss, for whom time no longer seems such a

limited resource.

While villagers often resent their lack of ultimate control in some areas of life, they also seem to value the sense of security and even the lack of responsibility entailed in the boundaries imposed by various institutions - God, the government, and employers. This is especially clear in the case of their attitude towards employment and its schedules, which give individuals a sense of their place, not only in society, but in time. It is ironic that an individual must transfer control over a large amount of her/his time to an employer in order to acquire the means to establish some sense of control over her/his non-work time.

In fact, however, since the status and identity of individuals in Cauldmoss (especially men) largely depends on their performance as wage earners, in a situation where jobs are a scarce resource, selling one's time to an employer has in itself come to be seen as a statement of one's command over one's affairs. Moreover, if, as I suggested, routines **in themselves** engender the feeling that one is managing time and events, then the work routine may actually contribute to the individual's sense of being in control. While the development of industrial capitalism may have encouraged the adoption of **particular** routines, it by no means created the desire for routine itself.

Although a man's autonomy is normally sacrificed during working hours, this does not mean that he will necessarily take **active** charge of his leisure time, organising it to achieve a definite aim. The difference between these two categories of experience (work and leisure) is not **necessarily** due to the nature of the activities involved, nor to the extent to which either is internally structured. It depends on the fact that a man feels he can **choose** what to do with his leisure hours, although the range of socially acceptable leisure activities is not an open-ended one.

Often a wife has her husband's evening meal ready when he comes in from work, and he then sits down to watch television for a couple of hours, if not all evening. As I suggested earlier, most men go out drinking only on certain nights of the week, and other common leisure activities are similarly regulated; for instance: day trips, Sunday afternoon walks round about the village, and church, community centre or sports club meetings. Although some of a man's "free time" may be taken up with activities he would not describe as "leisure" ("helping" with the children, for example), it is generally accepted that a working man deserves a night out, or a rest at the weekend.

The results of the second questionnaire seem to support the claim (see, for example, Pahl [1984]) that it is those who have work who tend to value their free time - since it is a

limited commodity - and who therefore actively attempt to put it to use in a variety of ways. They appear to have freedom of choice and a sense of control over their free time. Although the time budget survey revealed that of all groups, the employed spend **least** time on leisure, almost two-thirds of them felt that they had as much time free as they needed. Those who said they had insufficient were either working very long shifts, including at weekends, or said that they had a lot they wanted to do and "no' enough 'oors in the day tae dae it". Only two respondents expressed a desire to completely rearrange their work routine so that they could take a long break from it; both were white-collar workers, although one, a teacher who wanted "a sabbatical", lived on the scheme. Questioned as to the sorts of things they do in their free time, those in paid employment tended to take part in a wide range of activities, especially productive pastimes, such as gardening, DIY and knitting, in preference to reading, walking or watching TV. Whereas none of the unemployed in our sample claimed to spend time on bingo or gambling, 19% of those in work mentioned these activities, a difference probably due to the amount of spare income each group has.

The unemployed, on the other hand, are constrained in the way they use their free time both by lack of money and, I would suggest, by their belief that their time is not valuable. Because they can find no employer who wants to buy it from them, they tend to see their time not so much as a commodity, but as a burden. It lacks both exchange value and use value, and many of them often "put things off" until another day, feeling that "It disnae' matter when Ah dae it onymair". Moreover, as we will see below when I concentrate on the experience of the unemployed, many seemed not to **want** to fill their day with purposeful leisure acts. This group came second only to pensioners in terms of time spent on leisure. Over two thirds of them said they had a surfeit of free time: "Ah couldnae' get ony mair!" declared one man, and others complained about having to watch TV all day, and about being very bored. They tend to concentrate on those things which involve relatively little or no expense (watching TV, reading, walking and gardening); 15% attend meetings of the Masonic Lodge, which may be seen by some as a possible way of finding work.

In a sense, the same devaluation of time seems to be experienced by housewives, especially those whose children have left home. In a sense, they too may be regarded as partially "unemployed" (some women even called the money their husbands gave them "ma wages") and several of them said they would like a part-time job. As a group, they reported spending less time on leisure than the unemployed and the retired, but more time than those with jobs. Housewives were also less likely to feel they had too much free time than the unemployed or the retired but they seemed to enjoy a fairly limited range of leisure activities. They appeared to spend a lot of time at home - knitting, watching TV and

reading - or in other people's homes "visiting". Proportionally more housewives than any other type in the sample attended meetings at the Masonic Hall, this time the Eastern Star (the sister organisation of the Masons). Relatively few reported going to bingo or shopping as a leisure pursuit.

Pensioners reported the largest proportion of leisure time, (and of too much free time - three-quarters of them). As one man said: "Too much - thats whit's wrang"; another pointed out that "Its worse in the winter when ye cannae' get oot". Nevertheless they appear to adopt a fairly positive approach to their time in so far as they find almost as wide a range of activities to occupy themselves as do those with jobs. Many of them mentioned watching TV, reading, gardening and walking, although many also reported knitting, visiting, playing bowls and bingo or gambling. This was the group with the largest proportion of members referring to shopping as a free time activity (though the actual numbers are very small). Presumably pensioners have ample time for going to the shops, as well as more money than the unemployed, for example, with which to buy goods. Knowing they can no longer look to a job to give structure and meaning to their time many of them take steps to find some kind of replacement. That the activities they substitute for it are seldom satisfactory is reflected in their frequent complaints about the unvaried nature of their lives; "Ah'm jist fed-up".

On the whole it appears that men engage in a wider range of leisure activities than women (although on average they spend roughly equal amounts of time on leisure). The difference between council tenants and owner-occupiers is even greater, however, probably due to the higher proportion of those in work among the latter. The results reinforces the point I made in Chapter Five that those in private houses - many of whom are incomers - tend to have a more "privatised" lifestyle. Their leisure activities are mainly home-based (DIY, gardening, watching TV, reading and knitting), although many go walking and engage in sports, the latter being often outwith Cauldmoss. Only one individual in each case mentioned visiting, Masonic meetings or bingo/gambling.

Having explored the relationship between work and leisure in Cauldmoss, I would like to end this chapter by concentrating specifically on the experiences of the unemployed. I will pull together many of the points I have been developing, and demonstate the effects of changing economic circumstances on one group's perception of time - a group which in our society as a whole seems destined to remain large and dissatisfied for the foreseeable future. Appendix One then contains a detailed case-study of a villager who has experienced both unemployment and paid work.

Unemployment and time.

Many writers on unemployment have described how over time people go through different psychological stages after losing their job. In the light of the sort of objections raised by Fryer and McKenna (1987) to the stage/phase model we should perhaps look more closely at this interpretation, asking, for example, just how long can each "phase" be said to last? Do phases recur, according to a pattern? Some of our informants seemed to be in a different "mood" each day; others seemed always to approach matters in more-or-less the same frame of mind. External factors, such as changes in welfare benefit regulations, can influence the unemployed man's feelings about the urgency of getting a job and about his current situation. As Fryer and McKenna point out, the length of time an individual expects to be without work (which depends on his particular skills and the state of the local economy) is also important in determining his reaction to unemployment. They found significant differences between people depending on the degree to which they experienced " . . . uncertainty for the future - fears, forebodings, and the frustration of being unable to plan realistically for, and develop contingencies to deal with, the unknown" (Fryer and McKenna 1987: 71).

In fact, our findings suggest that the experience of many of the unemployed in Cauldmoss can be divided into substantial periods (usually months) where different psychological states seem to dominate. Some do seem to undergo a sequence which approximates to that described as typical by Marie Jahoda, both in her work in the 1930s and more recently (Jahoda 1872 and 1982). Basically, this is: distress, numbness, adaptation, loss of hope, apathy or acquiescence. Others fit the following description (provided by an informant) more closely: "At the start ye enjoy it; then get bored of it; then get depressed; then get lazy". This was the kind of pattern found among the unemployed Marsden interviewed in the early seventies (Marsden and Duff 1975), and also amongst those described by Seabrooke (1982) more recently.

An informant who had been unemployed for two years told me that those on the "bru":

> . . . get tae a stage an' say, "Ah'll need tae get a job . . . this is shuttin' in on me" . . . Ye actually begin tae hate livin'. Ah've been there . . . it just passes like everythin' else. Ah mean ye just begin tae accept it . . . .Then, ye've got to make the best o' well, Ah'm no' employed and Ah cannae' get a job, an' Ah'll jist need tae make the best o' the day, an' try an' fill it in the best ye can. A lot o' folk get intae a rut, and don't even want tae go oot and look fer a job, for the simple reason they get fed up lookin', 'cos they know there's nothin' there.

However, those few who reach the stage where they declare that they no longer care whether they get a job tend to be seen as experiencing a temporary fit of resentment; "Deep doon in their hearts, they dinnae' mean it".

I would suggest that the depression and apathy joblessness often produces is due to the unemployed's sense of having little control over their lives. This results from an absence both of money and of structure, the latter arising from their inability to clearly differentiate one period of time from another - from the lack both of value and of variety in the activities that "occupy" them.

As I have suggested, most people expect to direct only a certain amount of their time, the rest being under the control of those they work for, their employer or their family. To have too little of one's "own time" is seen as unsatisfactory. At the other extreme, for individuals accustomed to operating within limits, to be faced with apparently endless resources is often disturbing. Asked what they would do with a million pounds, for example, many villagers - initially at least - were unable to decide. Several pointed out that such an abundance of money can result in its devaluation, in the sense that one may well cease to appreciate what money means for "ordinary folk". In the same way, having an apparently limitless amount of time at one's disposal often produces an inability to make choices, and a diminution in one's sense of the value of time.

The way in which a person uses and experiences time when unemployed depends on her/his position in the life-cycle, as well as on the length of time s/he has been out of work (as is demonstrated in papers by David Clark [1987] and Stephen Fineman [1987]). For example, it is important to distinguish between those who have never been employed, and those laid-off in their twenties of at forty-five. In general, middle-aged men in Cauldmoss (who tend to stress the morally positive features of work more than younger men) seem the most disturbed by their unemployment and most pessimistic about getting another job. However, members of all age groups suffer from the loss of the temporal structure they are used to, whether this was dominated by school or work routines (the former being, after all, a preparation for the latter).

When first laid-off, many men, especially older ones, tend to divide-up their day in much the same way as it was when they were working. They get up and do all the things they used to do at the time they did when they had a job. Meals, usually eaten at the same time as previously, punctuate periods that they try to fill with some activity. In the early months of unemployment, looking for work - trips to the Jobcentre in the town, reading newspapers, writing letters to, or calling at, firms - can occupy a lot of time. There are also often jobs around the house that have been waiting to be done- redecorating is a common example. But do-it-yourself has not increased significantly in Cauldmoss in line with growing unemployment, partly because of the cost of tool and materials.

There are men, in their late fifties or early sixties, who feel the need for a reasonable

wage less urgently than younger men whose families are still growing up. Such older men have had the time through reduced family commitments to develop hobbies and become involved in activities outside work. However, almost all the unemployed men (and the women who were seeking work) to whom we talked felt bored and frustrated. A fifty year old man who did have several hobbies pointed out that "When ye get fed up wi' a hobby ye can jist stop. At work, ye get an awfi' lot o' routine work . . . day in and day oot . . . ye're not choosin' tae dae it". Yet he said many times how much he would prefer to have a job, not just for the money and for renewed "self respect", but because time passes "very slowly" now that he is unemployed. Younger unemployed people frequently complain about the lack of variety in their daily lives - "Every day's the same". When asked to describe a typical day, one unemployed woman said, "Ah get up in the morning an' moan aboot . . . Ah'll maybe take a walk up tae [a neighbour's] . . . she's as fed up as me. So Ah'll walk back . . . Ye're jist trailin' aboot . . . ". She told me the house needed cleaning, " . . . but Ah just cannae' be bothered! Ye just say, 'Well, what's the good o' it?' Ah dinnae' ken!". She would like to see the level of welfare benefits raised to allow recipients to go out just one night each week without getting into financial difficulties. "Aye, tae break the monotony . . . it's a' right sittin' in fer a wee while, but **every** day and **every** night? It's no' right."

As we saw, when asked if there was any day of the week that was different from the rest most of the unemployed questioned said no, not even "bru day", which " . . . comes and goes, nothing special". Some said that they did look forward, for example, to a weekly football match or to going to the local town once a week to get messages, but apart from that, life is lacking in variety. Because people in Cauldmoss claim welfare benefits by post, there are not even the usual fortnightly trips to the Unemployment Benefit Office or the Department of Health and Social Security which might impose some order, even though the visits that they do have to make to these places (every few months) are enjoyed by none of our informants.

As indicated earlier, the range of activities that can substitute for a job is very limited, for a variety of reasons. Without work, the idea of "leisure pursuits" becomes meaningless. As one writer on unemployment says, "It is one thing to come home after a day's work and flop down in front of the television screen, but quite another to watch television during the day because you simply have nothing else to do." (Hill 1978: 119). As we saw watching television was one of the most frequently mentioned free-time activities among the unemployed in Cauldmoss. Several informants pointed out that the unemployed "dinnae' get time-off"; full-time leisure is a contradiction in terms, and the concept of "education for leisure" was rejected by many of those we talked to as totally unrealistic. Even attendance of club or church meetings tends to be cut back by many of the unemployed,

either because of the cost of membership or because of a lack of motivation and a wish to avoid the company of those still in work - or for all these reasons. For most of the unemployed, only those pastimes requiring little or no cash can be used "to kill time - kill boredom", as one man put it. Some young unemployed lads spend a lot of time on fishing or ferreting expeditions, but their failure to stick to the basic guidelines (rules described by they themselves) suggests that they are more concerned to pass the day than to actually catch anything.

Some unemployed men do contribute to looking after their house and children, but, in general, the division of domestic labour is still too rigid to allow a man, especially one whose sense of identity has already been undermined by losing his job, to assume substantial "female" duties. This is a finding shared by Lydia Morris in her investigation of the domestic division of labour among the unemployed of South Wales (Morris 1983). Other possibilities, such as adult education or voluntary work, are seen as suitable only for certain groups; young people in the case of education, while voluntary-type work tends to be associated with the Women's Guild and the Rural Institute.

Of course men work for money, but the fact that emphasis is laid on the hourly rate of pay rather than on the value of "a job well done", means that consideration is seldom given to new kinds of "work" or to new patterns of working. Work tends to be characterised in terms of hours sacrificed, and those who lose their jobs usually have little inclination to start organising their own "working day" on a formal self-employed basis. (There were a small number in Cauldmoss who tried this, mainly with little success). Some men do arrange a series of "wee jobs on the side" for themselves, such as cutting lawns or doing car repairs. Even where a man can get occasional informal employment working for someone else, for example on a building site, such jobs are rarely adequate substitutes for formal employment because they lack the regularity and security of a proper job.

A few of the younger unemployed in Cauldmoss do have sufficient motivation (or perhaps desperation) to organise other types of illegal activity, such as break-ins or fiddling the DHSS. In some cases, these provide something to look forward to and give some sense of being able to determine future events. (Henry [1978] suggests that this is a motive behind many "hidden economy" activities.) However, of the few (mainly young lads) who broke into buildings, most did it with little advance planning. Such acts, like vandalism, are often a spontaneous response to boredom and an expression of frustration.

In a conservative community like Cauldmoss, it is hard enough for those who can satisfy society's requirements to be innovative, let alone those who lack the legitimation and self-respect gained from employment. In fact, I would suggest that many of the unemployed

do not really want to fill their days with "purposeful" activity. To carefully plug the gap meant for a job is almost to acknowledge that one will never have employment again. The dichotomy of work and leisure in Cauldmoss means that any alternative to "real" work tends to be seen neither as legitimate work nor as leisure. Activities replacing work, therefore, are taken less seriously than the search for "a proper job", and most do not believe that experience gained from such endeavours can be of help in this search. Moreover, it is important to display poor adaptation to unemployment since, when jobs are scarce, only those doing so are believed to really **deserve** work. This finding undermines the attempts of various writers (see Chapter Two) to persuade their readers of the potential benefits of a positive approach to unemployment, which they believe allows pluralism, community projects, the development of one's creativity, etc.

Although time passes so slowly, many seem prepared passively to wait a long time for a job. Although many in Cauldmoss believe that "full employment" is not likely to be achieved in the foreseeable future, most hope their children or grandchildren will have "proper jobs". Many have a cyclical view of the economy, believing that the current recession will eventually end and then many more jobs will be created (which may be a further reason why the unemployed do not protest more strongly about their situation).

In terms of his own short-term future, one informant described the changes unemployment had brought: "Yer full way of living is changed . . . [in the past] ye could plan ahead and do things . . . [now] it's sort o' week-tae-week". Another complained that, "Ye cannae' really plan. Ah couldnae' say 'Ah'll go wi' ye next Wednesday somewhere', because Ah wouldnae' hiv' the money tae go". The problem of trying to save money for future use is demonstrated by the fact that many unemployed folk in Cauldmoss ask for their benefit to be paid weekly, rather than fortnightly, as is the usual procedure. It is also reflected in the way many have their standard electricity meter replaced by coin meters. Some also have televisions which run on a meter. The wives of unemployed men (and unemployed women) often prefer to get an item now, from a friend's catalogue and then pay for it in instalments.

As I suggested earlier in this chapter, occasions which mark the progress of time from year to year (birthdays, Christmas, holidays, etc.) and through one's life (weddings and house-warming parties, for example) can no longer be planned and celebrated in the same way without a wage-earner in the house. Such events give people a clear sense of the difference between one period and another, something many of the unemployed are lacking, even in their daily lives. Employed and elderly informants, in line with the stereotypes of the unemployed I described above, often criticise the latter for taking on debt, especially at Christmas time when they see the children of their out-of-work

neighbours riding around on expensive looking new bicycles, or playing with elaborate toys. The unemployed clearly worry about how they will pay for such items, and some do cut back on gift giving; one father thought "there'll be an awfie lot o' men in Cauldmoss sore- hearted because they've nothing for their wains at Christmas." In fact, however, our impression was that many unemployed parents suspend their usual parsimony at this particular time of year. One mother of three, whose unemployed husband had left her not long before, told Wight that she had spent much of November worrying about the fact that she could not afford to get her two young daughters the expensive bicycles each wanted for Christmas. Then one night she decided: "Fuck it, Ann. If they wains are wantin' to get a fuckin' bike, ye'll just have to fuckin' get it".

Next day she went to a shop in the local town and ordered the two bicycles, and a go-cart for her son, which cost £201 altogether. Her weekly payments would continue after the goods were delivered, until they were fully paid for. She took the money out of her Supplementary Benefit, Child Benefits and the small amount her recently re-employed husband sent her. Besides these "big presents", she planned to give her children other smaller, though still fairly expensive, gifts. She also mentioned another family, living on the husband's invalidity benefit, who were in the process of buying their three children expensive gifts, including a computer for their son.

Various other points relevant to the study of time in Cauldmoss are raised in considering the behaviour of such families at Christmas. For example, in many cases, parents' desire to bestow large gifts on their children seems to arise partly from their own memories of childhood : "Ye want tae gi' 'em whit ye never had yersel', ken?". It is also sometimes a result of their fear that their children will enjoy few luxuries in later life unless the economic situation improves: "Ye want them tae enjoy themselves as much as they can the noo, 'cos ye dinnae' know hoo things will be fer 'em in years tae come". Children's repeated requests for various items at times other than Christmas are often greeted with annoyance by hard-up parents: "They've got tae realise we jist cannae' afford it onymair". But Christmas is seen as "a time fer the kids", and, after all, "kids are kids" and are not really expected to understand the problems of adults.

At Christmas, parents must choose whether to indulge their children, or to avoid financial difficulties. Most such parents, feeling that they deny their children much of the time, opt to take this one opportunity each year to express their love for them. This explains why Christmas remains a special time for so many unemployed folk. The unemployed in Cauldmoss face many dilemmas in day-to-day living. Being unable to fulfil all the norms of this community, they must frequently weigh one against the other, deciding for example if it is more important to keep their family warm all winter or to be honest and resist the

temptation to "fiddle the electric" (since they cannot do both).

Because each day, each week, and even each year, become, to an extent, indistinguishable from any other, the jobless often "lose track" of time. As I suggested, the result is that many of the unemployed (and their families) tend to focus attention on the present rather than the future. "People are just graspin' at life at the moment", said one woman, describing how many are now using their savings to enjoy themselves while they can, rather than keeping them for "feelings of security". Many of those without jobs spoke of "takin' each day as it comes". An illustration of the way in which the unemployed lose track of time came in the form of an argument which developed between our neighbour and his brother (both unemployed) over exactly how long ago it was that one of them had last had a job interview. Since that time, they had experienced nothing "special", nothing that stood out in their memories, and that could serve as a marker, in relation to which other events could be "placed" in time.

In terms of attitudes towards the past, I have mentioned the comparison that is often made, especially by older inhabitants, between conditions today and those during the Great Depression (the implication being that this recession, too, will eventually pass). Almost everyone we talked to over the age of twenty commented on the change in employment opportunities which has occured in the last few years, and many also referred to the change in attitudes towards the unemployed. When there were plenty of jobs around, people definitely "looked doon on" those without work, one unemployed man told me; but how can they do that now, he asked, when nearly every family in Cauldmoss has at least one member who is unemployed?

Conclusion.

In this chapter I have examined the socio-temporal aspects of villagers' domestic life and their employment. I began by comparing beliefs about kinship and friendship, before considering collective representations concerning membership of the community. The latter emphasise the importance of shared knowledge of the village's past, especially of family characteristics, and kinship links, although the line of descent traced tends to be relatively short. I then looked at the ways in which the past is frequently brought into the present via storytelling and photographs, drawing attention to the crucial role of temporal factors in the evaluation of events, and the sorts of events villagers choose to commemorate. I found that diaries and calenders are not used to a large extent to make written records or plans. I went on to examine life-cycle ordering in terms of the different stages or events informants recognise in an individual's development, and also in terms of the events they celebrate. This led me to focus on collective representations of childhood and adolescence, noting in particular beliefs about attitudinal differences between the young and the old. I considered aspects of the transition to adulthood and found Van Gennep's model of ries of passage useful in analysing a case study of a wedding.

The availability of money largely governs the use and planned use of time, and various aspects of planning and financial budgeting were considered, attention being drawn to differences between those in work and the unemployed in terms of their approach to the future. I examined the importance of routine in villagers lives, and the extent to which they experience breaks in routine. Such breaks are seen as essential for well-being, but not all informants are able to enjoy them, or organise them in advance. I argued that the majority of villagers seek to remain within traditional limits in their consumption of goods and services (including education), although most require a sense of gradual improvement in their circumstances over time. I then discussed the amount of time given to various activities, especially work and leisure, and to the way in which these two concepts are juxtaposed. I ended by looking at the experience of the unemployed in particular, those who lack work, "real" leisure, and therefore, I argue, a sense of structure within their time, and control over it.

PART FOUR:
CONCLUSIONS.

CHAPTER SEVEN - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

CHAPTER SEVEN
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

My objectives in this thesis, as set out in Chapter One, may be summarised as follows:

1) To present a detailed ethnographic record of an ex-mining community in the Central Lowlands of Scotland, an area largely ignored by anthropologists in the past.

2) Using a socio-temporal framework approach, to explore the ways in which time is put to use by villagers, both in terms of the activities and events taking place within it, and, more importantly, in terms of the role which reference to the temporal characteristics of activities and events plays in their evaluation.

3) To consider the applicability to Cauldmoss of claims made by some writers as to differences in the approach to time of different social classes in Britain, specifically in terms of the extent to which working- and middle-class individuals plan ahead, or are present-orientated, prefering "immediate gratification".

4) To contribute to an understanding of the general process whereby groups find meaning in, and exert control over, their physical, social and psychological environments through reference to (often implicit) rules whereby elements of these environments are differentiated from, and related to, one another.

5) To locate attitudes towards time found in Cauldmoss in the early 1980-s within the development, over time, of ideas about this phenomenon in Western society as a whole, looking particularly at the concept of time-discipline involved in the Protestant work ethic. This is in order to enable me to assess the validity of the claim that current high unemployment in our society is producing a resurgence of older or "simpler" attitudes concerning the use of time.

6) To assess the relative merits of traditional anthropological qualitative research methods, as opposed to a more sociological, quantitative approach, when considering both informants' ideas and their behaviour in regard to time.

All of these objectives are subsumed under the overall aim of uncovering the form which time takes for the inhabitants of Cauldmoss. My thesis is that time is the major organisational tool villagers possess, one which regulates a fundamental aspect of experience - change. Time is a rule-governed mechanism whereby elements of experience

are differentiated and related to one another, and so rendered meaningful.

In this final chapter my intention is to summarise the material I have presented in each chapter of the thesis in order to clarify the way in which I have tried to fulfil each of these objectives, and also to draw out the thread which runs throughout the work - that of time as an organisational tool. I shall then be in a position to assess my contribution to knowledge within social anthropology, and will finish by indicating areas of the study of time which remain to be investigated.

After providing a brief background to my work in Cauldmoss, and describing my objectives and the structure of the thesis in Chapter One, I went on in Chapter Two to discuss the methods and methodology which I used in more detail. Examining four main areas of literature which have informed my work, I pointed out that in recent years time has become a major topic of concern in a wide range of disciplines. Using works which explore the nature of time itself (mainly in terms of the Western concept of time) I set out what I understand by the term "time" (collective representations about change and the absense of change). I pointed to one - although not the only - major function of these representations, namely the co-ordination of activities within a group. This literature also refers to three overlapping aspects of time - physical time measurement, the use and evaluation of time in society, and the individual's experience of time - distinctions which I found useful when trying to describe the parts of the complex machinery of time as I encountered it in Cauldmoss.

An examination of studies of time in our own and in other societies both suggested various types of evidence relevant to an understanding of time within a particular group, and indicated the common element underlying apparently diverse "concepts" or representations of time. While all societies appear to share a need to classify and organise events and experiences which change, they differ as to the type of changes they acknowledge in their particular system of time-marking, and as to the values they ascribe to the periods marked. I suggested that a basically structuralist approach appears to have some explanatory power. This focusses on the way in which discrete elements of experience are classified and related to other elements according to rules (often based on opposition, such as long/short, early/late, right/wrong, etc.). Representations of time provide a sense of control over one's environment and satisfy both intellectual and practical requirements. While I have not sought in this thesis to rigorously apply the theories of Lévi-Strauss (1966) or Douglas (1966), for example, I feel that these basic postulates help to throw light on the form which time takes, not only in Cauldmoss, but in all societies.

My exploration of the universal as opposed to the culture-specific aspects of time also led

me to consider the nature of collectives, specifically what it is that binds a group of individuals into a "community", a term which I have argued describes the relationship between the majority of the inhabitants of Cauldmoss. I drew attention to the role of boundaries, and also to the use of symbolism in distinguishing not only one community from others, but, within communities, different activites, roles or periods of life, in order to give them meaning within the community as a whole. Such an approach has prompted analysts of British culture, such as Bernice Martin, to suggest that it is those communities or classes in our society suffering most material deprivation which cling most tightly to the structures that "create order and meaning" in their lives (Martin 1981: 61).

Attempting at this point to locate Cauldmoss within British society as a whole, I suggested that it is indeed a community experiencing a high degree of scarcity. As I show in Chapter Four, lacking jobs in particular, it finds itself in a sort of limbo - no longer a thriving industrial town, nor a pleasant rural retreat. It is representative of many ex-mining communities in this area of Scotland, and (as I indicate at various points in the thesis), on a larger scale, there is a high level of fit between many aspects of its culture and that found in working-class communities throughout Britain, both in urban and rural areas.

The existance of high unemployment in Cauldmoss and the importance of employment in this community led me to review studies of the nature of work and leisure in our society, activities which figure prominently in accounts of the development of our concept of time (as I show in Chapter Three).

I devoted the second part of Chapter Two to a discussion of the methods used in fieldwork, exploring issues such as my identity in the village - as an academic, as a villager and as a woman. I described the benefits and disadvantages of various techniques - participant observation, questionnaires, time and money budgets, interviews and genealogies. I also considered ethical questions involved in studying areas of one's "own" society, specifically the working-class. Despite the reservations I expressed there, I feel that in this thesis I have presented a rich and, hopefully, sympathetic picture of life in this particular community.

Part Two of the thesis (Chapter Three) contains a detailed examination of time in Western society as a whole, laying the foundations for the lengthy exploration of time in Cauldmoss which follows in Part Three. I traced the notion of time as a limited resource to be carefully spent from the fourth century B.C. through to modern times, drawing attention to the different strands which have become entwined with this one to produce the conflation of ideas existing today. This involves seeing time both in terms of linear progression and cyclical repetition; my discussion of time in different societies in Chapter

Two helps to clarify the difference between the repetition of **events** as opposed to the repetition of **time itself** - a point to which I return in Chapter Five when I demonstrate how these two aspects of time are successfully combined in practice in Cauldmoss.

I also demonstrated in Chapter Three how concentration on work and leisure as key time-markers arose out of a movement, particularly among industrialists and moralists, to manipulate the boundaries (both temporal and conceptual) governing activities. I suggested that the influence of moralists was especially important in Calvinist Scotland, producing a commitment to work today which is perhaps stronger than that found in some parts of Britain. This has implications for the extent to which changing employment circumstances are producing new ways of using or seeing time in Cauldmoss. I then set out an analytical framework of social time in our society (distilled from the work of various writers) which I felt would be useful in my discussion of time in Cauldmoss in Part Three.

I looked more closely at the relationship between the physical, social and experiential aspects of time, drawing attention to the fact that it is events in time, rather than time itself, which tend to be the primary object of experience. The subjective appraisal, or perceived quality, of periods in time rests largely on collective beliefs about the nature of the activities taking place within them. But such evaluations of activities are themselves based on implicit social rules involving reference to their temporal characteristics (often to quantitative time markers), and also, for example, to their spatial characteristics. The rules which I isolated in Chapter Three govern socio-temporal rate, sequence, location, duration and synchronisation.

I then focussed on beliefs governing the appropriate timing of stages of the life-cycle. The organisation of aging, according to age groups and age categories, emerges as a fundamental aspect of the way in which shared evaluations of change over time contribute towards social cohesion within different societies, although I pointed to the way in which the content of the rules in our own society has been gradually altered as a result of demographic and economic changes. This has produced patterns which may in fact be more stable and uniform today than they were even a hundred years ago. Some writers suggest that in line with an increasingly rational approach to time - exemplified by training courses in "time management", for example - the concept of "career strategy" has assumed great importance. Others point out, however, that socio-ecomonic groups differ in the extent to which they actively plan for the future, as opposed to simply adapting to likely future trends. It is this type of difference which I explore in Chapter Six.

I concluded Chapter Three by looking at the actual means different societies employ to differentiate and relate periods of social time, that is, the rituals which enable

individuals to effect a passage from one phase of life to another, whether these are major movements between age categories, for example, or simply between two parts of the day or of the week. As we saw, analysts such as Douglas (op.cit.) believe that these rituals are a vital means of "communicating" or "transmitting", through symbols, cultural patterns formed by the normative prescriptions regulating time/change in a society. Leach (1961) and Turner (1969) draw attention to the nature of the periods which themselves divide or create larger units of time, Turner pointing out that the suspension of normal "structure" often found during these special periods serves to unite individuals within a society in shared recognition of their common humanity. In this way, rites of passage deal with the paradoxical fact that, as one woman in Cauldmoss put it: "Folk are a' the same really, but we think we're a' different".

Part Three of the thesis is devoted to Cauldmoss itself. It opens, in Chapter Four, with a lengthy discussion of conditions and ways of life in general in the community, before moving on in Chapters Five and Six to focus on time in particular.

Chapter Four began with a description of the geographical and historical development of the settlement at Cauldmoss, concentrating on the growth and decline of the main industry - mining - before going on to consider the situation in more recent times, up until the mid 1980s. This section covered changes in demography and employment; other sources of income; villagers' sense of identity and convention; their experience and views of the values of others; the social structure in Cauldmoss; the role of kinship and marriage in the community, and attitudes towards education, religion and politics.

What emerged was a picture of a shrinking and somewhat isolated community in economic decline ('though there appeared to be a slight improvement in unemployment rates between 1982 and '85 - when roughly a third of adult males in the village were seeking work - and the rate of out-migration seemed to be slowing down). The majority of inhabitants may be described as "working-class", with approximately three-quarters of the population being manual employees, and over three-quarters of households headed by individuals belonging to the Registrar General's Social Classes III (manual), IV and V. (Most of these families live in council housing.) The remainder of the population, most of whom are owner-occupiers, have white-collar jobs and/or are own-account workers, including farmers.

Over half of the population are native to Cauldmoss, and the largest proportion of "incomers" are to be found among the owner-occupiers (60% of that group, most of them coming from nearby towns or other parts of Scotland). One of my tasks in examining values and beliefs in Cauldmoss was to assess the nature of the collectivity found there; who are the representations I claim to have found representative of exactly? Do different groups

possess different value systems, or does apparent diversity simply reflect a difference in emphasis on particular aspects of the same basic system?

In Chapter Four I argue that among those born in Cauldmoss or "married onto" natives, (and in many cases regardless of the type of job or accommodation individuals have) there is a large degree of consensus in attitudes. There is however, a measure of diversity in attitudes and interests in Cauldmoss taken as a whole, and this is most noticable in two collections of individuals (mainly incomers), one which the "nice" majority label as "the bad lot", and the other as "the snobs". The relationship between the core and the peripheral groups within the community is reflected in the images of the village each holds, with mainstream inhabitants revelling in Cauldmoss's uniqueness, while those outside the core tend not to identify themselves with the village, but rather with their own place of origin. Concentrating on core inhabitants, I explained the role of the family and peer groups in transmitting and reinforcing particular ideas, including a belief in the value of conformity.

At various stages in Chapter Four, I pointed to differences which exist within the core group itself, between men annd women (for example, in terms of involvement with relatives, and segregated leisure activities) and between its young and elderly members (in attitudes towards welfare benefits and divorce, for instance). Exploring villagers' experience of values "different" from their own, (that is, those held by groups which they tend to regard as alien), I suggested that despite clear differences between lifestyles in Cauldmoss and those often presented in the media, for example, there is some overlap in values, since villagers readily identify with the emotional responses portrayed in TV programmes and in the newspapers.

I then went on to consider in detail the bases on which villagers tend to identify distinct groups, within British society as a whole, but more specifically, within Cauldmoss itself. As I argue throughout this thesis, in order for any thing, person, event or time-period to be meaningful, it must be seen in relation to other things, persons, events or periods of time. Without this, it cannot be "placed". This explains the emphasis which core villagers tend to put on the difference between themselves (as a group) and other groups, an emphasis which may prevent them from recognising the existance of many beliefs held in common. My impression was, in fact, of a very high degree of overlap in general values throughout this community; for example, in ideas about how one should spend time; about the importance of one's family; about the need to treat others as one would like to be treated; about being on good terms with one's neighbours, etc. However, individuals were not always able to match these ideals in practice (especially those from "bad" families), and there were differences in the ways such values were made manifest in the lives of different villagers. For those on the council housing scheme, for example, being neighbourly usually

meant popping in to see one's neighbours every day, watching their children sometimes, and bringing in their washing if it rained. For those in private houses, it was more likely to mean a short chat when they happened to meet, and the occasional invitation to "come round for a drink".

In the discussion of kinship, marriage and sexual morality which I then presented, I concentrated on the views and behaviour of mainstream villagers, especially in terms of their emphasis on the high level of interrelatedness found in the core community. One area in which a clear difference in behaviour is apparent is that of different groups' use of the educational system: while the children of "the snobs" are encouraged to stay on at school and go on to higher education, those from the scheme tend to be pressurised into leaving school to look for work as soon as possible. However, most working-class parents in Cauldmoss are enthusiastic about the benefits of further education - in theory at least.

To some extent, the same type of mismatch between their ideals and their actions also applies to villagers' approach to religion and politics; while there is general respect for the Kirk and its minister, few attend services or seem motivated by religious beliefs. Similarly, although most inhabitants hold strongly anti-Tory views, value the role of trade unions and insist that "somethin' should be done aboot" a variety of issues in British society, very few are politically active, and many fail to vote in elections.

I concluded Chapter Four by pointing to the sense of powerlessness which I think characterises many of Cauldmoss' inhabitants, especially in their dealings with outside authorities. As I noted above, Martin claims that it is just such feelings that produce a particularly high degree of inflexibility in terms of the structures (including the time structures) governing one's more immediate world - at work, but especially at home and in one's local community.

In Chapter Five I considered various aspects of villagers' ideas about time, especially about time in its more general or abstract sense. These findings are based largely on material gathered using qualitative methods, and on the whole reflect attitudes found among all the different groups in the community, 'though I have tried to bring out differences between groups where I encountered them.

I began by looking at the extent to which villagers conform to the description presented by most writers on time in Western society, whereby time is seen as linear progression, and as a scarce resource which must be used productively. I showed that the majority of villagers do indeed believe that it is wrong to waste time, and that, for them, the clearest example of time wasted is through unemployment. They share a general conception of the onward flow

of time and the development of humankind through history, although some are more interested in the more distant past that others. While some enjoy reading books or watching programmes about pre-20th century events, most prefer hearing about time within living memory, and discussing changes which have occured between "then" and "now". The majority tend to see "the future" in terms of dramatic developments in world affairs and technology, but they are also concerned with the well-being of their children and grandchildren.

In terms of an individual's lifetime, there is some reference to the linear development of a person's physical, social and psychological aspects, usually in the form of comments on someone who is failing to grow, or to learn to behave, according to the timetable seen as appropriate.

On the other hand, I found much evidence of an awareness of cyclicity in Cauldmoss, not in terms of time itself, but of the recurrence of "types" of time, that is, of the units which punctuate time, and of the kind of events that fill it. So, for example, informants have clear ideas about the correct rate, sequence, location, duration and synchronisation of events - ranging from the annual Gala Day to the seasons, and from pregnancy to weekly nights out- and it is the extent of the "likeness" of each occurrence of an event to its past occurrences which underlies the structure of their lives.

There are some villagers who go beyond recognition of similarity to declare tht some things never change at all over time, things such as the division of society into "the haves" and "the have-nots", or human nature in general. For villagers, the idea that the same time can be re-experienced belongs to the realm of science-fiction. However, individuals do possess "time machines" in the sense that, through sharing their memories (and to a lesser extent their "plans"), they are able to travel along the continuum of time at will. Going backwards in this way is a favourite pastime in Cauldmoss, although I indicated that more affluent individuals in the community tend to look ahead to a greater extent than most core villagers, while the unemployed often seem to try and focus their attention on day-to-day living. I also noted that villagers discourage too much dwelling on the past where this involves painful memories.

Having looked at temporal linearity and cyclicity as demonstrated in villagers' treatment of time, I then considered the extent to which they see time as a thing in itself. Most think of time in terms of the relationship between its physical units and the activities associated with them, and even when they claim not to be very concerned with time, sometimes reveal a high level of awareness of it. It seems that those with many demands on their time are often highly cognisant of "the time" (according to the clock or calendar), while those with

fewer commitments (the unemployed and the retired in particular) tend to be more aware of their actual experience of time in itself, especially if changing circumstances have brought about a sharp alteration in their experience. Many in this position are also very aware of the apparently unvaried nature of their activities, and although they refer less than those in employment to the correlation between activities and physical time-markers, they often continue to act according to a routine of some sort, and they like to have clocks and calenders in the house.

When asked about time in itself, some said it is a "strange thing", and many seemed to find my interest in it peculiar, believing that it is better not to think about it too much, not to become "too deep". Although many pointed to the benefits of having "regular habits", they tended to condemn "clock-watchers". For them, the ideal is to find a balance between the degree of control over one's time which rests with oneself, and that which rests with others. One should be neither so pressurised that one is continually rushing and checking the time, nor so "cut -off" that one either ignores time-markers altogether, or dwells on the nature of time too much. As with all areas of life, one's approach to time should be "nice and steady".

I analysed various expressions involving reference to time which are frequently heard in Cauldmoss, and which reinforce the idea of time as a resource which individuals can choose to sell, give away, keep for themselves or take from others. Time is also seen as an active force, however, which can "heal", or which can be used to punish offenders in the sense that too rigid a routine can produce an unhealthy awareness of time; above all else they are "doing time".

I drew attention to the way in which these expressions reveal the importance of shared networks of cognitive association in Cauldmoss; every item of "new" information can be "slotted into" the socio-temporal framework, so that sense can be made of the information. Time serves an a medium - I suggest the medium - linking all experience.

I noted that often villagers are unconcerned with accuracy when describing the location, duration, etc. of events, prefering to use "always/never" rather than "often/rarely", and to talk in vague terms such as "At one time", or "In a wee while". The willingness of others to accept such statements without question points, in some cases, to shared lack of interest in the objective timing of events. More often, it indicates a common understanding of what such expressions tend to mean in objective terms, meaning which depends on shared knowledge of socio-temporal rules, and of the different situations and individuals involved. On other occasions, however, villagers refer to the temporal characteristics of events with great specificity, although without spelling out the implications of their

description. The fact that, once again, other villagers understood these implications perfectly, reveals the extent of common expectations in Cauldmoss.

Two expressions in particular seem to epitomise attitudes towards time in this community. The first, "regular as clockwork", suggests that not only are many activities located at fixed clock times, but that their rate, sequence, location and duration are as consistent as are the movements of the parts of a clock. We saw that the predictability which this regularity allows is a feature of life villagers often commented on, and I suggested that it underlies their frequent references to the things they are "used to" (including events and people which challenge the norm). As long as these remain within their accustomed boundaries, they are acceptable. Events or behaviour which are inconsistent or which do not have a customary place in the scheme of things, tend to be regarded as threatening - "not what we're used tae" or "not how things used tae be".

The second expression, "one day at a time", encapsulates an approach to time which is widespread in Cauldmoss, and one that appears to match the present-centredness which both Hoggart and Martin identify to different extents in the working-class communities they studied. Believing that "ye just cannae' tell what's roond the corner", villagers declare it is better to concentrate on making the best of things here-and-now. Real power to determine events lies in the hands of governments and "big business", but also, many villagers claim, in the lap of "fate" (less often referred to as "God").

This belief in a higher justice which unfolds in mysterious ways through life's events does not prevent individuals from resenting their situation, from fighting with those who threaten them, or from taking direct action to try and ensure their future wellbeing. It does however provide a way, not only of reconciling oneself with, or making sense of, adverse circumstances, but it also, I suggested, offers a means of "controlling" future events which is different from the usual empirical system of cause-and-effect. Related to the general concept of fate in Cauldmoss is an interest (found mainly among core villagers) in luck and in premonition - which includes astrology and fortune-telling - and all of these constitute ways of dealing with time that are alternative to the normal everyday approach. I argued that while such beliefs often involve taking action (primarily putting stray things back in place) these do not seem to be regarded as directly instrumental, nor is the information provided by horoscopes and fortune-tellers used in an instrumental way. I suggested that such superstitions serve a more intellectual function in that, like fantasy and gossip, they give villagers an opportunity to "know" about, to speculate on, and to voice their desires about future events. They also allow them to act in ways that express their acknowledgement of a higher order which they recognise but cannot ultimately influence.

I noted that such beliefs are less prevalent among the more middle-class inhabitants of Cauldmoss, who tend to have more of the resources (money, education and confidence) which enable them to determine events using direct means. I concluded Chapter Five by drawing attention to the role informants' expectations play in influencing events, suggesting, like Lewis (1961), that even where individuals appear not to plan for the future to a large extent, their "design for living" is passed down from one generation to the next.

Having explored general features of time in Cauldmoss, I went on in Chapter Six to concentrate on the role of time in particular areas of life in the village, namely family life and work.

Like Chapter Five, Chapter Six is based largely on the results of observation and interviews, and deals with behaviour and beliefs common to mainstream villagers, although, again, differences between groups in Cauldmoss are addressed to some extent. Before focussing on family life, I briefly described some of the temporal features of friendship, such as the belief that friends should be of roughly equivalent ages. Among relatives, on the other hand, friendship is supposed to characterise the bond between the elderly and the young in particular.

I then moved on to demonstrate the way in which kinship is used to organise information about the past and the present, and to link the two dimensions, especially in terms of establishing individuals' position as "real" members of the community. The escapades of villagers' forebears are frequently reiterated, and names - including forenames and maiden names in many cases - are passed on from one generation to the next, as is involvement in particular institutions and pastimes. Family characteristics, both physical and psychological, are also believed to be inherited. I pointed to the difference betweeen young and old in Cauldmoss in the extent to which they devote attention to the past, before going on to analyse one particular storytelling session in detail. This demonstrated many of the features of social time I have noted so far - the highly structured lives of most villagers; the attention to detail in describing the rate, sequence, location, duration and synchronisation of events where this is called for; the way in which temporal characteristics are used to implicitly contrast not only elements within the stories themselves, but also the events described with the normal course of events. Shared knowledge of the norm serves to bind the participants in the session together in common interpretation of the experiences of the people described, prompts them to seek explanations for any mismatch (between the ideal and the actuality), and produces in them a fresh appreciation of the value of their own, usually well ordered, lives.

This discussion of storytelling led on to an examination of the way many inhabitants, both

on the scheme and in private houses, use photography, and sometimes video, to create records of family events which will be used in the future to reinforce a connection with the past - an example of how cyclicity enters into the linear flow of events. I compared this practice to villagers' tendency to describe past events as if they were actually looking at a mental image of the scene; they sometimes use the active-voice ("He says to me . . . ") in order to add to the immediacy of the description.

Their photographs indicate the type of events folk in Cauldmoss feel are worth marking and remembering: weddings; holidays; Gala Days; anniversary and retirement parties; children at key points in their development, such as christening, first day at school, first school trip, etc. All of these are important landmarks in time, each constituting the turning point between one phase of the year and another, or between one stage of life and the next. **Within** events themselves the symbolic weight of certain actions becomes clear as villagers strive to ensure that they capture the exact moment when the bride and groom cut the cake, or when their child is crowned queen of the gala.

Many villagers possess old photographs given to them by their older relatives, and they also treasure "photies" of their own class at school. These are used to trace the development of individuals over time, and to clarify changing relationships through the years. I noted that, just as it is women who are most active in "keeping up" ties within the family on a day-to-day basis, they also tend to be responsible for the photograph collection. On the other hand, I demonstrated that men are as active as women when it comes to storytelling.

I then went on to discuss the extent to which villagers make use of diaries and calendars in order both to record the past and to plan the future. The results of the questionnaire Wight and I carried out in 1985 indicate that, in fact, three-quarters of villagers do not have a diary at all, and that among those who do, the highest proportion are female owner-occupiers in formal employment, who tend to use them as a "reminder" of future events. On the other hand, over 80% of households had a calendar (usually several), although it tended to be those in work and with young families who used them most - again for noting future events, such as shift changes, appointments and family celebrations.

I then went on to examine beliefs and behaviour concerning the ordering of the life-cycle in Cauldmoss. When asked to do so, many villagers initially found it difficult to isolate "different stages" in a person's lifetime, but usually then went on to mention key events signifying changes in status - birth; starting and leaving school; getting a job; marriage; having children; retirement, and death. I considered the extent to which villagers celebrate various events, based on the results of our second questionnaire. Most of our

repondents said that they celebrate Christmas, about half of them claimed to celebrate birthdays (especially 18th, 21st and 100th birthdays) and/or anniversaries (particularly silver and golden anniversaries), although only about a third mentioned Hogmanay. There was a high level of agreement as to the way in which the events mentioned **should** be marked, although it appeared to be households with at least one member in employment which were most likely to actually mark these times in the appropriate manner.

Focussing on attitudes towards childhood and youth, I looked at the ways in which the inhabitants mark some of these events, at the norms governing appropriate behaviour at these stages of development, and at the way economic circumstances in the early 1980-s meant that many young people could not act in accordance with the norm. This fact led older villagers either to pity or condemn them, especially when comparing their own past experiences with those of young people today. Many informants referred to differences between the "gererations" in Cauldmoss, the elderly often claiming that youngsters today hold totally different values from themselves, although I have tried to show that in many respects (notably in the desire for regular employment and a happy home of their own) the two groups share the same basic outlook. I suggested that a degree of ambivalence towards both adolescence and old age is actually inherant in collective representations governing these periods, both of which, unlike childhood and the the prime of adult life, tend to be regarded as transitional stages in themselves.

Moving on to focus on the event which signifies the beginning of full adult life, I described the large amount of time and energy (and money, where available) which villagers devote to weddings, an event which continues to be echoed throughout married life in the form of anniversary celebrations. I described the socio-temporal rules governing the correct timing of courtship, marriage and having children.

Although the details of a wedding ceremony and its attendant rituals vary in Cauldmoss (according to the level of affluence of the couples' parents, to the couples' feelings about religion, and to whether this is their first marriage or not) the basic formula remains the same. I examined two particular sets of marriage rituals in detail, and, through comparison with records of similar rituals in other parts of Scotland, attempted to explain them using Van Gennep's (1960) model. Rather than a straightforward three-stage pattern, I found a series of rites involving a complex overall sequence moving from separation to liminality to formality, back to liminality, then separation and incorporation again, followed by further separation and then final incorporation back into the comunity. This tends to reinforce the argument that such events are of crucial importance in helping villagers to differentiate periods of time within the life-cycle and to distinguish individuals according to their status in the community. Most interesting, I felt, was the association made on the hen night

between the bride-to-be and a young child, which is soon followed (at the show-of-presents) by a ritualistic opportunity for her to practice the role of a mature member of female society- a hostess and keeper of household goods.

Weddings, with all their special customs, provide an opportunity outside of "normal" time for villagers to reminisce, to compare the event in question with other examples of it in the past, to take a fresh look at the progress of their own lives, and to speculate on likely future events. The same is true to different extents of other major features of the collective timescape in Cauldmoss: christenings, funerals, anniversary and retirement parties.

I concluded this discussion of life-cycle ordering by looking briefly at attitudes towards the elderly in Cauldmoss, pointing out that while the vast majority of villagers treat "the auld yins" with respect, many younger inhabitants resent the criticisms which the elderly make of them.

Moving on to look in more detail at the level of routine and planning in villagers' lives, I pointed out that advance preparation is often built into the structure of their lives, so that most do not regard this as a form of "planning". The latter involves more conscious consideration of how one's resources are to be used in the future. These resources are primarily money and time, but I pointed out that active planning also requires the type of confidence acquired through extended education and through experience of the world. I also drew attention to the fact that even apparent breaks from routine are in fact part of the socio-temporal structure of villagers' lives, although, once again, some are more able than others to afford, and to organise, "treats" to look forward to.

Using findings from our questionnaires and time and money budget survey I drew up socio-temporal profiles of different types of villagers, according to employment status. Overall, it appears that those with paid work outside the home are most likely to conform with the ideal socio-temporal framework in Cauldmoss, having a high degree of regularity in their lives, and perceived variation in their activities, both on a short and long-term basis. They and their families have the resources to plan ahead, both in terms of avoiding problems, and of organising treats, to a greater extent than those in other groups, so that they tend to anticipate the future more positively.

Continuing with the theme of the nature and extent of planning in Cauldmoss, I considered villagers' aspirations, and related my discussion to my colleague Daniel Wight's (1987) thesis that different age groups in Cauldmoss tend to be characterised by different values regarding the acquisition of wealth, goods and increased social status.

I concluded that older core villagers tend to advocate a patient, "steady" approach to the acquisition and spending of money, which involves careful consideration of the non-material aspects of life which must be combined with material goods to gradually establish, over many years, a happy and comfortable home. While younger core inhabitants have the same basic goal in mind, for them both the means and the end itself tend to involve a greater reliance on money and goods, and shorter time scales. This reflects the success of advertisers who continually suggest that goods bring instant happiness, although even younger villagers who say all they need is more money also sometimes claim that money cannot buy happiness. This ambivalence arises from a desire both to provide as many "nice things" for themselves and their family as they can afford, and at the same time, to avoid placing themselves outside the core group, either through possessing too many "nice" things, or a lot of clearly expensive but "weird" or "snobbish" items.

Some villagers take the belief in living "one day at a time" to extremes, demonstrating an ongoing preference for immediate gratification rather than delayed return. These tend to be members of unemployed households who, unlike other groups in Cauldmoss, lack the ability to enjoy **regular** bouts of liminality built into their routine, and who therefore decide to ignore convention and take any opportunity for excess which presents itself. This leads me to concur with Martin's rejection of the claim that the working-class **in general** is characterised by a desire for immediate gratification.

A sense of gradual and limited improvement in one's material and social position is, I would argue, valued by almost all the inhabitants of Cauldmoss. Even those who claim to want nothing other than "loads o' money" usually recognise the importance of patience, and of ethical considerations. Even those who find it difficult to describe their long term "plans" seem to act in accordance with the "design for living" I mentioned earlier, which almost invariably involves some reference to the future. On the other hand, the behaviour of owner-occupiers in Cauldmoss leads me to agree with Hoggart's (1958) claim that it is those with resources - usually the middle-class - who tend to feel most comfortable with concepts such as career advancement, ambition, long-term commitments and rewards, and so on. The difference between working- and middle-class villagers is epitomised in their attitude towards their accommodation, 'though even here I would argue that it is a case not of totally different values, but of different expectations. (It was in this section that I compared villagers' behaviour when moving to a new house to the rituals surrounding Hogmanay, both events marking the boundary between two discrete and important periods of time).

My treatment of villagers' ideas about waiting, which concluded this particular section of Chapter Six, confirmed the claim that they place a high value on patience, although they

also recognise that the extent to which they have to "wait on" officials, for example, indicates the difference between their own status and that of such outsiders.

I then moved on in the final sections of Chapter Six to look at the temporal characteristics of two key areas of life in Cauldmoss - work and leisure - and at the ways in which these structure villagers' experience. The results of the time budget survey Wight and I conducted using a small self-selected sample of informants indicated that those in full-time employment have a clear sense of their time being filled with a variety of activities. On the whole the results reinforce the findings from the second questionnaire, suggesting that the timescapes of the unemployed and full-time housewives in particular are flater and less interesting than those of individuals with jobs outside the home.

Throughout the thesis, paid employment emerges as a vitally important source of meaning in villagers' lives, providing a timetable (daily, weekly and annual) around which household and leisure activities are organised, as well as the resources necessary to act in accordance with the norm in marking special events.

This fact prompted me to outline the criteria which villagers use to define particular activities as "work", "leisure", etc., findings based on our first questionnaire, which revealed a high level of consensus among repondents. The perceived nature of activities depends not only on the activity in itself, but on its spatial and temporal location, and on its relationship with other activities. I contrasted the distinction made between work and leisure in Cauldmoss (and indeed throughout our society) with behaviour and beliefs in simpler societies, but found little evidence from Cauldmoss to suggest, as some writers claim, that the reduced availability of suitable paid employment is producing any revision in values concerning the relationship between work and leisure, such that "alternative" forms of work or full-time leisure could replace old jobs.

Asked specifically about their experience of "free time", respondents' replies once again reinforce the general picture I have described; the employed are on the whole satisfied with the amount they have, while the unemployed and the retired tend to feel they have too much. Most housewives stated that they had enough or too much (this latter largely reflecting the experience of those with no children at home). Again, it appears that it is not simply the amount of time left unoccupied, but the extent to which individuals feel they have the means to choose how to use their time, which determines their assessment of it. While it is true to say that an employer robs a person of her or his autonomy for part of the day, villagers value the sense of security, and even the lack of responsibility entailed in employment, with its imposed boundaries. They are then more able to appreciate their limited amount of "free time", especially since they have the money to do more-or-less

what they like with it.

The results of the second questionnaire confirm that the employed tend to enjoy a wider range of leisure activities than any other group, while those with most spare time, the unemployed, engage in a less diverse range, and what they do tends to involve less expense. Similarly housewives and female pensioners seem to exhibit less diversity in leisure pursuits than the employed, a trend exacerbated by the fact that their most popular leisure activities take place in the house or in the homes of others. Many male pensioners, however, seem to make a positive effort to develop hobbies and interests, having reconciled themselves to the fact that they will never again have employment at the centre of their lives.

Finally, I turned to look at the experiences of the unemployed in more detail, using these experiences to throw more light on the socio-temporal norm with which this group is unable to conform. I described the "stages" which individuals tend to go through after losing their job, especially depression and apathy, which I suggested are largely a result of their inability to perceive a structure in their lives - one which renders both present and future meaningful - despite their efforts to adhere to something approximating their old timetable. Although some of those without formal work- especially among younger villagers - are relatively content to survive on welfare benefits, odd-jobs, and/or loans from their parents, they remain very much in the minority, being highly condemned by other inhabitants. (The case-study presented in Appendix One provides an in-depth view of one woman's experience of both employment and unemployment.)

In conclusion, having summarised the main points in each of the chapters of this thesis, I feel that it is fair to say that, by fulfilling my original objectives to a large extent, I have demonstrated my thesis: time in Cauldmoss is a major organisational tool involving social rules whereby elements of behaviour and experience are differentiated from, and related to, one another, and so made meaningful.

Dealing with each of my objectives in turn, first of all, I think I have made a major contribution towards providing the "systematic ethnographic data on British life-styles . . . an anthropology of our own contempory cultural *milieux*" called for by Martin (op.cit.: 56, 243). I feel that I have uncovered time as it exists, both in its abstract and embodied forms, in one community in some detail, a task undertaken in only one other piece of work, as far as I know. I have conveyed something of the differences existing between various groups within this community, differences which I feel do not constitute divergent value-systems, but are rather the result of a difference in the emphasis placed on specific elements of a

collective system of beliefs. In many cases, apparent dissimilarities are due to an inability to conform with the norm, rather than a desire to reject it.

Although I attempted to identify working-class and middle-class approaches to time in Cauldmoss in line with the work of various writers, I found that in this community differences in the use and experience of time are based more on economic factors than on a divergence of cultures, so that I tended to concentrate on differences resting on employment status rather than on class. I also noted differences existing between men and women, and, more importantly, between age groups in Cauldmoss. In terms of my specific objectives, I presented evidence which supports the claim that working-class communities tend to display a concern with the immediate present. I demonstrated however that this is combined with a degree of forethought and planning, "immediate gratification" being limited, on the whole, to specific periods which punctuate the normal routine. Nevertheless, I tried to suggest that a combination of surplus income, and of confidence (as found in more "middle-class" villagers), tends to produce greater interest in, and preparation for, the future.

Both groups in Cauldmoss share what Martin calls "the cultural vocabulary . . . of boundary and control" (ibid: 75), both demonstrating concern for "the internal differentiation of the . . . times of domestic life". However, middle-class families seem to operate according to more individualistic time-tables, and can more easily afford to act spontaneously, if they wish to.

I have attempted throughout the thesis to explain how collective socio-temporal rules enable villagers to make sense of their experiences and their environment, and have included many examples of the ways in which the meaning or significance of particular activities and events depends on comparison between their actual temporal characteristics and those involved in the ideal timetables (the socio-temporal map) shared by the vast majority of villagers. I also considered particular events which punctuate or articulate the ongoing flow of time, placing individuals clearly in a specific stage of the life-cycle.

In this thesis, I have tried to provide a detailed example of the way in which structuralist theory can be fruitfully applied to one aspect of life in our society. As Douglas (op.cit.) and Sperber (1975) suggest, the establishment of meaning does indeed appear to depend on the classification of elements of experience, on the maintenance of the boundaries between these classes, and on perceived associations (comparisons and contrasts) between them.

In my introduction to an analysis of the nature of time in Cauldmoss in Chapter Five, I used an image of the collective representation of time as many threads forming a piece of cloth

bearing a clear pattern. At this point, however, I would suggest a slightly more sophisticated model; Lévi-Strauss' scheme for the analysis of symbolic systems provides, I think, a means of clarifying the way time works in our society (Lévi-Strauss 1972: chapter XI). We may view the three elements of time - physical, social and experiential - as aspects of a paradigmatic series which coalesce to form steps (particular "times") in a syntagmatic chain, which is the flow of time itself. Physical, social and experiential time harmonise together, and the changing pattern of "harmonies" forms the ongoing "melody". At any moment in time, each element operates symbolically in that its meaning derives not from its face-value, but largely from its relationship with the equivalent element in the preceding and succeeding moment, and from its interaction with the other elements operating within the same moment.

Taking this analysis a little further, Lévi-Strauss argues that in myth the different elements are related to one another in such a way as to overcome, or rather to acknowledge and encompass, problems of logical inconsistancy. If I can apply this type of approach to time in Cauldmoss (and elsewhere), I would suggest that the root of the "problem" is that things change, and yet they also stay the same. The merging of both linear and cyclical elements of time - as found in Cauldmoss - seems to me to represent a successful marriage of logical opposites.

A quotation from Zerubavel neatly sums up the conclusion I reached as to the function of the socio-temporal framework I found in Cauldmoss, although I would probably state it even more strongly:

> The temporal regularity of our social world has some very significant cognitive implications. In allowing us to have certain expectations regarding the temporal structure of our environment, it certainly helps us considerably to develop some sense of orderliness. By providing us with a highly reliable repertoire of what is expected, likely, or unlikely to take place within certain temporal boundaries, it adds a strong touch of predictability to the world around us, thus enhancing our cognitive well-being. (Zerubavel 1981: 12)

I rejected the idea that high unemployment in Cauldmoss is producing changes in the dominant ideology there, specifically in terms of attitudes towards work and leisure. Throughout this thesis I have pointed to aspects of behaviour (especially among younger villagers) which do not conform to the norm; for example, an increase in "idleness" and "fiddling"; in co-habitation and divorce; in the desire for goods and for immediate pleasures; in the use of credit. I argued however that basic norms appears very slow to change, which is not surprising in a community dominated by conservatism. In Cauldmoss I did not encounter a situation conforming to Seabrook's gloomy picture of the mass of children who, due to "the decay of the old working-class function and identity . . . have not

felt social purpose and cohesion other than the fantasies and vapours of the market-place" (Seabrook 1982a: 18). There is a desire for comsumer goods among the young, but there is also a desire for traditional forms of work and identity within the community. Elsewhere, in less tightly-knit inner-city "communities", individuals - particularly the young - appear to be more willing to consider the type of alternative working arrangements which tend to be rejected by the inhabitants of Cauldmoss: job-sharing, co-operatives, self-employment, etc. Such alternatives often seem to involve some rethinking of the work/leisure nexus, or at least a more "task-orientated" approach to work itself, reminiscent to some extent of the situation in simpler societies.

My final objective involved an evaluation of the methods I used, specifically a comparison of qualitative and quantitative techniques (see Appendix Three). While the questionnaires and budget surveys provided data which complemented my findings based on participant observation and interviews, it is clear that to have relied on quantitative methods alone would have produced a very flat and superficial account of time in Cauldmoss. Even had we used larger questionnaire samples, and acheived better response rates in the budget surveys, for example, I still feel that the usefulness of the material produced is limited (especially considering the large amounts of time and effort required). It was living closely with villagers over a substantial period of time which allowed me to really explore the linear and cyclical elements of their time; the ways that values are passed on and sometimes challenged; beliefs about the nature of fate and luck, and all the other aspects of the socio-temporal framework I examined. My experience echoes that of Newby writing about his attempts at methodological pluralism in the study of deference among agricultural workers (I have inserted "time" in place of "deference"): ". . . not only did the participant observation critically affect my theoretical understanding of [time], but . . . it was this method which was providing me with valid data, and where survey and observation data conflicted I instinctively trusted the latter" (Newby 1977: 127).

Following on from my contribution to the debate as to the effects of long-term unemployment on attitudes in British society, and thinking about the feasibility of retraining adults and of alternative forms of work (bearing in mind the current shortage of school-leavers), I would suggest that work could be done on the values of those in other areas of Britain, especially in the inner-cities. An approach involving analysis of socio-temporal frameworks using long-term observation and in-depth interviews could prove very valuable. My experience in Cauldmoss leads me to feel that an action-research approach should be considered, with the researcher(s) able to respond to requests for information on adult education opportunities, etc.

Among the aspects of the temporal framework in Cauldmoss which I was forced to ignore

here through lack of space, I would have liked to have given more attention to the experience of women in particular. For example, one issue which was frequently refered to by some women in Cauldmoss was "the change" - the menopause - although I found little evidence of the sort of major "mid-life crisis" reported among other groups, especially in America (see Sheehy 1974). How does one account for such differences?

Another promising area which I could not go into in detail is that of perceived and actual differences between women and men in terms of various ways of packaging and recycling the past. I noted that in Cauldmoss, women are believed to indulge in gossip, while the same sort of information presented by men tends to be labelled "a good story". Are there in fact consistent differences in content? Does this distinction rest not simply on the speaker's gender, but on factors such as the physical location of the participants, or on the temporal setting and organisation of the "tale"?

The elderly are a group which is increasing in size and which tends to be regarded with some ambivalence in our society as a whole (as demonstrated in my findings from Cauldmoss). While the growing literature on ageing includes some accounts by individuals of their experience of becoming old (see, for example, Age Concern/Seabrook [1980]), an in-depth study of the experience of ageing, including younger peoples' perceptions of old age, would be worthwhile. Again, it would be interesting to examine an inner-city "community", where it is probable that very diverse experiences and attitudes would lead one to question the extent to which "the elderly" can be called "a group" at all.

At the other end of the life-cycle, recent concern over child abuse seems to have inspired new interest in the whole area of childhood and our attitudes towards parenting. A socio-temporal framework approach, involving both attitudes towards children and the experience of children themselves, could add much to this debate.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX ONE - CASE STUDY.

APPENDIX TWO - GENEALOGY.

APPENDIX THREE - QUESTIONNAIRES AND TIME AND MONEY BUDGET SURVEYS.

APPENDIX ONE.
CASE STUDY.

Rather than presenting a series of short case studies reflecting the experience of a variety of villagers, I have opted to include a more lengthy study of one individual. Since she became a friend as well as an informant, Isabel's responses to my questions were frank and detailed, allowing much insight into her life and beliefs.

She is an especially interesting informant in that she has experienced a variety of roles. Born three years after the Second World War, she lived with her parents and her five brothers and sisters in a small cottage, "a room an' kitchen", in one of the "miners rows" just outside the village proper, until the family moved in the 1950s to one of the newly built houses on the council scheme. Suffering from tuberculosis in her teens, her time at school and later at work was often interrupted by periods in hospital. The illness was cured for good, however, after the birth of her first child, a boy, a year after her marriage at seventeen. Four years later she also had a daughter and at the same time her husband was made redundant from his job in a factory. He decided to train to be a joiner, and went on to get a well-paid job with a double glazing firm. For some of the time she was married, Isabel had a part-time job in a large shop in the local town and also helped to run a youth club in the village on a number of evenings each week.

In 1981, Isabel and her husband were divorced, and he bought a house in another town. Their children continued to live with him since he was better able to support them, although they stayed with Isabel every weekend in the council house she has three doors away from that of her parents. For most of the time I was in Cauldmoss, Isabel was not working (apart from very occasionally one-off cleaning jobs "on the side"), and was receiving Supplementary Benefit. She lived with a man, Alan (also divorced) from a nearby village who had lost his job in 1982 as an engineer and in 1983 was claiming Invalidity Benefit, eczema preventing him from carrying on working. In 1984 he got another job which he still holds today. Isabel herself did not find work until 1986; again this was working in a large shop in the town. Up until their marriage in 1986, Isabel and Alan, although "stayin' together" tried to keep their finances somewhat separate, largely in order to avoid the DHSS stopping Isabel's benefit. Following her divorce she saw herself as an independent person, and very much wanted to find a job rather than be dependent on the DHSS or a man.

Isabel, therefore, was able to talk from first hand experience of the point of view of a full-time housewife, that of a working wife and also that of one of the unemployed.

Moreover, the fact that she had many relatives and friends in the village meant that she could describe the experiences of the various types of people in Cauldmoss - men as well as women; the elderly as well as the young. Both she and Alan were involved in activities in the community centre.

In the majority of cases, Isabel's descriptions of other villagers' experiences and behaviour fitted with what I was witnessing and hearing elsewhere in the village. What follows are excerpts taken from two tape-recorded interviews I carried out with Isabel, the first in February 1983 when she was feeling depressed with her lack of a job, the second in January 1986 just after she had heard that the temporary work in the shop which she had had before Christmas was now to be made into a permanent job for her.

I have reorganised the material provided by these interviews to some extent because, although my questions were designed to encourage Isabel to look back on the different phases of her life and describe her experience in some sort of chronological order, as with all villagers, she made sense of what has happened to her by constantly comparing and contrasting different periods of time, different events and activities as well as different types of situations and individuals. She frequently refers to the clock and calender when describing events.

We began by talking about changes in Cauldmoss over the last decade. Isabel pointed to one area of life in particular: "We aye used tae go tae the one school, an' ye a'ways had the same friends a' yer life till ye left school. But noo they a' go tae different schools when they're 12".

Apart from that, however, she said she did not feel things had changed or would change much in the village:

> Ah think it'll a'ways be Cauldmoss; it'll a'ways just be the same. The only thing that changes is maybe the work situation. When the kids left the school they a' had a job tae go tae. Noo they havnae'. But Ah think we're a lot better off than we were twenty years ago. They can say whit they like aboot bein' unemployed, they've a' got a better standard o' livin'. They've a' got colour televisions, an' their wains dinnae' really go hungry... look back twenty years ago on how puir... it was a puir community. Whit ma kids've got compared tae whit Ah had - it's a dash sight better standard o' livin', although they've no' got jobs!

Having identified this development, she then went on to point to differences between today and periods more distant than twenty years ago, such as the era in which her mother was growing up;

> That's a different generation again. Fifty years ago they a' used tae share each other's food, an' everythin'! If somebody wis puir ye wid gi'ẻm a loaf an' some sugar. They wid rally roond if somebody had an accident an' a' put in together. Folk

noo are mair independent, really, although they **had** independence in they days tae - a different kind o' independence frae whit we ken. They didnae' get social security fer a start! So we get that handed tae us on a plate, aifter ye go in and wait fer aboot an 'oor! If they didnae' work fer it they just didnae' hev' it. . .

Thirty years ago, when Ah wis young, things were quite hard. Ah think ye got social security then so, Ah think it was just basically like, ye didnae' ha' new bikes fer yer Christmas an' that. Hardly onybody had a car; if onybody had a car, we didnae' ken 'em! Food was different tae. There wisnae' such a thin' as a tin. . . Ye went tae the butcher here, an' there wis a fish shop here. Ye **baked**. Most folk dinnae' ha' time tae dae that noo because they're workin', makin' money, tae buy tins! Crazy, in't it?! A way o' life passin' awa'. It's oor ain choice, Ah suppose. Or is it? . . . Ah think the television's got a **lot** tae answer fer.

Talking about the economic situation in Cauldmoss in the past, Isabel went on:

This was one of the first places Ah wid imagine tae get hit wi' unemployment. Because the brickworks up there shut doon maybe ten years ago, an' a lot o' men used tae work up oan the moss, used tae cut the peat. . . that was a' they **knew**. . . When we were leavin' school there was a brickworks in [the local town] too. The boys could go there, cos their dad worked at the brickworks or somethin' tae. Used tae be a Friday wis the best day fer a job - or a Monday- if somebody wis leavin'. And especially when Ah wis young, it wis really much better fer young girls. On a Friday if onybody wis gettin' married, they automatically left their work. . . A girl could go tae a shop, she knew she wid get a chance o' that job. . .

Noo, the kids don't know whit it is tae go oot on a Monday mornin' an' earn money, an' work tae Friday an know it's **their** money and it's **their** independence. A lot o' folk up here, they're twenty years old an' they've never had a job. . . they've no' got the confidence tae leave their mither. . . They've no' got the confidence when they go fer an interview. They're brought up wi' the attitude that it's their **right** tae get money aif the government. When Ah left school there wisnae' such a **thing** as yer **right**. So when Ah came home (fer Ah wis in hospital fer a year), Ah wis 16 - well Ah left school when I was 15 - an Ah wis unable tae work, an' ma mam wasnae' allowed ony money fer me cos Ah had never **earned** ony stamps. When [her brother] left school [recently] he wis 16, so he automatically qualified.

Despite her belief that it was crucially important for youngsters to have work, she felt that their apparent willingness to settle for state benefits was largely due to a desire to avoid being exploited by employers, either via the Youth Opportunities Programme or in low paid jobs such as those their older relatives had settled for.

Oot o' the people before us, all the people roond aboot here, it wis pits. They worked long 'oors, an' they never really had a **life**. My gran'pa didnae' know whit daylight wis. He left fer his work before it wis light, an' he came hame when it wis dark. An' he wis talkin' aboot workin' fer maybe one an' sixpence a day. . . Ma father worked a' his life, an' he never ever was idle ever; cannae' mind o' ma dad bein' off unless he wis **ill**, an' he's got nowhere. . . He worked fer years an' years, drivin' a lorry. An' that lorry took in thoosands o' poonds a **week**. An' he maybe got **£80** a week. Ah think it's sad tae think hoo a' the people who **really** worked, like in the pits (an' even kids). . . Ah mean, ye go doon there tae that graveyard, an' ye'll see kids names on the heidstanes: "**12 year auld** - died in the pit". There's three kids oot the one family, an' they're a' under 18 - they a' died in the pit. Must o' been jist the

end o' the 18th century, maybe the beginnin' o' the 19th century, Ah don't know. Because it's no in the right auld bit just at the church, it's through the gate, so. . . . Ah'll show ye one day, Anne Marie; it's really sad. In fact, doon at the graveyard Ah'll tell ye a few stories.

Ah suppose there's a lot o' the auld people think that a lot o' the young yins are jist doonright lazy, an' they dinnae' really want tae work, an' the government gi' 'em that much money that they dinnae' really bother aboot a job. Ah dinnae' think they understond. Auld people wid trape fer miles an' miles fer jobs, but noo it's that dear fer bus fares, the kids cannae' dae that. . . .. Kids'll no' admit it, hoo much they really dae want a job, but if ye see some kids' faces when they get jobs - they're that delighted.

She pointed out that, in a sense, "ony job will dae" because,

. . . when ye're workin' it seems as if ye know where the next job's comin' off. The guy next door tae me, he's never really been oot o' work mair than two weeks. He works on buildin' sites ye know - here, there an everywhere an' he's got a van. An' he knows when he finishes that job where the next job's openin' up.

When asked what she thought could be done to ease unemployment, Isabel said:

Ah'm no' really qualified tae say that, but Ah'd like tae see mair youngsters. . . if early retirement wis required fae a lot mair women, who don't really have tae work, unless they're widowed. . . Ah wid say early retirement fer them, much earlier than they dae get. No' fer a man, 'cos it affects a man's feelings unless he wants tae. But people that have worked in life should be given the option tae leave earlier.

Discussing alternatives to paid employment she pointed out that self-employment does not appeal to most villagers because "Ye've got tae be pushy, an' ye've got tae know a lot o' people too." Moreover, "If ye're workin' fer yerself, well, ye're goin tae work harder, aren't ye? Ye clock -oot an' ye clock-in at a factory whereas if it wis ye're ain place o' work ye wid jist maybe slog on wi' it, at the weekends."

She thought there were now few opportunities for the unemployed in Cauldmoss to find informal work, unlike in the past: "When it wis the hay season, up tae the ferm - maybe get a couple o' weeks - that's a'ways been done, no' jist at this present moment in time . . . fer years, Ah think that has jist a'ways been a way o' life."

Most would take any opportunity that presented itself, she felt, which put them in danger of being reported to the DHSS:

If it's jist gettin' a couple o' poonds noo an' again, a one-off thing, Ah wid say that's OK, because ye really dae need money. But somebody who's got a job, a regular job on-the-side, Ah don't agree wi' that. Plus the person who's employin' them is undercuttin' them.

Apart from looking for "a wee fly job", she thought unemployed villagers were often very unenterprising:

> Ah dinnae' think people are aware they could go tae college an' study tae dae somethin'. An' at the end o' it, they're no' guaranteed a job, but they've passed six months or a year o' their time, which is mair beneficial. There's a lot o' people in Cauldmoss who's quite intelligent, if given a chance. They could go doon tae that college in [the local town] an' they wid get their bus fares paid, an' a grant. It **wid** benefit them, cos they're oot, talkin tae people an' mixin', an' they've got somethin' tae dae. They **might** achieve mair than they wid if they **hadnae'** been unemployed 'cos if ye're workin' a' the time, ye cannae' take that opportunity, an' it might never arise again; cos ye might get a job next year an' work fer the rest o' yer life. If **Ah** wis quite academic, Ah wid take they kind o' opportunities. When ye go intae the Jobcentre, Ah dinnae' think they gi' ye enough information.

Discussing her own experiences, Isabel was aware that she was in a position to understand the outlook of both those who had work and those who had not. In 1986, having found work herself, she pointed to one example of the way in which the employed and the unemployed form two separate groups in Cauldmoss:

> Ah think when ye're workin' ye dinnae' really understond the pressures that they folk [the unemployed] are under. They'll think "Well, Ah'll go oot fer a night oot, an' Ah've got x amount o' money' tae spend, an' Ah cannae' spend any **mair** than that". But ye could get involved in company doon there [the pub] - which we hiv' done **thoosands** o' times. So it's a guid few poonds fer a roond, an' ye'll sit an' ha' a guid natter. It can be quite unplanned - before ye know where ye are. . . an if ye're in company, notice hoo quick they drinks get drunk.
>
> Somebody who's unemployed could **not** afford tae go intae that company. If ye've no' got a lot o' money, ye spin yer drink oot. So, therefore, they're goin' up the road when the've spent their £4, feelin' really left oot o' the company, an' we can sit there tae three o'clock in the mornin'. An' they **know** that; they're goin' oot the door knowin' "They'll be there till yon time in the mornin'". So they're gonna feel bitter. Ah can understond hoo folk who arnae' workin' feel when they see people who're workin' spendin' a' this money - probably spendin' mair money in a night than they've got tae keep their wains a' week. Ah've seen it in the pub - [employed] men buyin' roonds at holiday time - Christmas, New Year, the Fair [Trades Fair - the annual summer break] - "Whit ye drinkin'?", "Whit ye drinkin'?" An' [the unemployed] maybe were friendly wi' they people, but they cannae' go intae the company because they couldnae' possibly **buy** a roond. . .
>
> A' the folks that are unemployed a' go aboot together. An' the folks that are workin' a' go aboot together. Before Alan wis workin', he used tae go aboot wi [another unemployed man] an' a' that. But he disnae' go oot wi' 'em noo. He never ever **sees** them noo. Ah suppose because the're in the pub at different times. **They're** meetin' in the pub through the day, an' Alan goes doon at night - aboot seven o'clock. Well, men who's no' been workin' a' day arnae' in the pub at that time, usually. So it's men that are usually **workin'** that's in the pub at that time. It's wierd, it's funny. Ah dinnae' ken if onybody's ever **noticed** it afore. But when [unemployed men] were workin' they were exactly the **same!** An' when ye **are** workin', ye forget quick whit like that situation **was;** ye **don't** want tae mind aboot it. . .

Isabel herself, however, could clearly remember how she felt in earlier periods of her life. Talking about housewives in Cauldmoss, she said:

> A lot o' folk like tae say: "Ah've never got a minute - Ah'm daen' this, an' Ah've got they windaes tae wash". But Ah think it's her ain **fault** because she disnae' **hiv'** tae polish her ornaments every day. Honestly, ony hoosewife shouldnae' really need tae spend mair than an 'oor a day daein' her work, forby [in addition to] when she's daein' washin' an' ironin'! If they want tae be a slave tae the hoose, they can **be** a slave tae the hoose 'cos **Ah** used tae be like that [laugh] - that's hoo Ah ken!
>
> Ah wis jist a hoosewife before Ah started workin' an' **really,** Ah **had** a' the time Ah wanted. But when ma kids were wee Ah never ever went oot, oot o' **choice.** There were certain things in the hoose that **had** tae be done. Fer example, Ah **had** tae paper the livin'-room once a year, at **least,** an' Ah **had** tae dae a' ma paintin' **twice** a year, Ah had tae dae ma washin' oan a certain day. . .

When she started working part-time outside the home as well, she felt even more pressurised:

> Ah never went oot at all then, except tae the youth club, in a workin' capacity. Ah hadnae' really time. Ah used tae think "Oh, it'd be **great,** no' tae work", when Ah **wis** workin' fer years an' Ah had twa kids. Ah'd think, "Imagine ha'in' a day off": it wis a **treat.** But it wisnae' a treat fer **me** because Ah'd hoosework tae dae. Ah wid be rushin' tae ma wirk, an' rushin' hame, an' rushin' here an' rushin' there, an' Ah'd see people who didnae' work an' Ah thought "Gee, they're lucky". An' they never seemed tae be withoot. But ye didnae' realise they were strugglin' tae keep an appearance up an everythin'. There never used tae be enough 'oors in the day fer me when Ah wis workin'. Frae [from] the minute ye got up in the mornin' tae ye went tae bed at night, ye were rushin'. Ah wis a clock-watcher; Ah used tae watch the clock a' the time, ye know.

However, her wages allowed her family to enjoy many extras:

> When Ah worked as a married woman it wisnae' fer necessities; it wis fer luxuries. Ah'd jist say "Well, Ah'm gonna buy a music centre". Ah put ma wages by, an' they were never touched - they never went intae the hoose, fer messages or onythin'. An' when Ah had enough money, Ah wid go tae Currys an' buy a music centre. An' then Ah wid buy a ceramic hob, or. . . An' Ah a'ways saved fer the holidays, but that wis frae ma husband's wages. He didnae' get great big wages, but he didnae' go oot, although he smoked an' he had a car. An' we a'ways had enough fer a good holiday every year. An' if bills came up in between. But Ah didnae' hiv' hire purchase or, like electricity bills - Ah a'ways prepaid that weekly. Ah jist had a book with yer name and yer number, an' when ye're in the toon ye can go in an' pay £5, or £2, or £10 or £20 - it's a great idea, an' that's been [around] fer years an' years. . . Ah get new claes [clothes] fer the summer holidays an Ah a'ways got a good new outfit fer Easter an' Christmas.

She could remember how she always looked forward to future events, especially where her children were concerned.

> Ah used tae say,"Oh Ah wish [her son] was walkin'" or "Ah wish he wis at the school". Ye wished everythin' further, ken. Ah **enjoyed** when Ah had ma wains. But Ah wis awfi' [awfully] young; Ah wis only jist 19 when Ah had [her son]. An' Ah enjoyed a' the years a' them growin' up - it wis really **guid.** (An' noo Ah can sit

doon an' talk tae them. . .)

However, the stability of Isabel's young family was threatened when her husband was made redundant:

> [My daughter] was just born at the time, it wid be 12 years ago. He had worked fer 10 years in the same place, an' was frightened tae go oot an' look fer anither job. He felt as if all he ever knew. . . For the first few years he wis oot o' work, it wis really bad because he wis so protected in his job fer a' those years - didnae' know whit it wis tae gae an' chap [knock on] someone's door an' say "Hiv ye got a job?" He'd had one interview in his life, when he left school.

After retraining, he found a good job, and "he's a lot better off noo", so much so that when he and Isabel divorced, and her ex-husband moved elsewhere, they decided that the children should spend most of their time with him. She no longer had a job, but wanting to be independent of him, Isabel would not accept maintenance, even though this meant she only saw her son and daughter at weekends. She stayed with her parents for four months before being allocated a council house nearby. "If Ah'd been cute [clever] enough, Ah could o' waited six month an' moved in, an' Ah wid o' been entitled tae get aboot £300 [a grant from the DHSS]".

She complained that some villagers applied for such an "Essential Needs Payment" by falsely claiming that they had no carpet or cooker, and then hiding these items in a neighbour's house. "They know whit day the Department's comin' oot, an' they get a cheque".

At first, she found it very difficult to manage, although it became easier when Alan moved in not long after. He was working, and although Isabel would accept only a limited contribution towards the housekeeping money, he paid to take her out regularly, and "at least we could go away fer the weekend". In 1983, however, she complained:

> He was made redundant last year, an' then had anither job an' he got paid off wi' hit [it] an' a'. He's had two jobs frae when he wis made redundant. It's two years frae when he wis made redundant. He worked fer the same company fer 13 year, so he's findin' it quite difficult.

When Alan was first laid off, he received a substantial amount of redundancy money.

> At the beginnin', he'd plenty o' money, an' the two o' us spent it a', enjoyin oorselves. It was great! Jist goin' oot an' buyin' claes whenever we wanted; jist go up the hairdressers, get the hair done. . . goin' fishin' fer weekends, goin' tae big posh hotels, jist livin' the life o' Riley. We could o' had this hoose furnished like a palace if we hadnae' o'. . ., but the two o' us jist wanted tae be. . . We dinnae' regret that fer a minute!

Even after most of the money had run out, Alan tried to find things to do with his time. In

1986 (when he had been back at work for two years) Isabel looked back: He was never in . . . he' d go oot wi' [his friend] tae shoot in the mornin', but end up in the pub a' day. It wis jist boredom . . . Aifter he started workin', he realised hoo fed-up he was, ye know, daein' a' the daft things he used tae. . . "

Isabel herself, however, spent five years "on the bru" before she found a permanent job she felt she could accept. While unemployed, she certainly wanted to work, and there were some low paid jobs available:

> **Maist** people, Ah think, **want** tae work. But whit are they gunna work fer, if, fer example, Ah get ma rent paid fer me at the moment, that's £13 a week, an' Ah'm left wi' £24 Supplementary Benefit. So if ye put yer bus fare ontae that - hoo much is that? Tae [the local town] every week? £7.50? So Ah've got tae be makin' £43 before Ah'm actually better off. Ah wid need tae be makin' **£60** tae be makin' **£20** fer whit Ah'm gettin' the noo. So, Ah think that's mostly everybody's attitude in Cauldmoss. That, they're no' well-off on the bru, but they wid only maybe be £20 a week better off fer daein' a full week.

She felt the amount of benefit she got was "really inadequate in comparison to hoo ye lived when ye **had** a job. Totally different". The reason she refused to take more money from Alan was because "He's entitled tae his money as well. He's worked a' his life, he's never been off his work. And Ah like ma independence; even though it's only £24 a week, it's still mine."

Whilst unemployed she described how she managed her money:

> When ma giro comes in, if Ah owe ma mam a couple o' poonds, Ah gi' her it. Ah a'ways hiv' tae borrow, usually from ma mam, on Tuesday or a Monday. If Ah'm fortunate enough that Ah never borrowed that week, that's guid. An' Ah went doon tae the Fine Fare the day an' Ah spent £12 an' Ah didnae' really get loads o' messages. Ah've still got tae buy bread an' milk a' week, an' Ah've got the butcher. Ah'm no' sayin' Ah never ever went doon an' bought drink wi' ma giro cos Ah probably **hiv'**. But Ah must ha' ma food in first - that's ma first priority. An' Ah must pay ma electric bills an' ma coal.

She explained that one of her brothers (recently separated from his wife) often stayed at her house. Sometimes "he's away fer a fortnight at a time an' Ah dinnae' see him!"; other times,

> Ah've seen him stayin' here fer three weeks in a row. . . He disnae' gi' me dig money. . . but he might come in the night or in two weeks time, an' say tae me, "There's £10 - go oan oot". . . that's a rare occurrence! He'll maybe no' gi' me money fer three months. . . He came in here one day - oh, it wis quite a while ago - an' he'd a lot o' money, an' he gave me £20. . . He's come in aboot three times a' the time he's been here wi' some steak. He's used tae eatin' well.

She insisted on getting her benefit from the DHSS every week, rather than twice the

amount every other week as was the usual procedure: "Ah tell them it's too much. It's 'a hunger an' a burst' if ye get it every fortnight". She speculated that it would be even worse if they decided to give benefit ("pay") every four weeks:

> Ah suppose if Ah got paid monthly, Ah wid just go doon the Fine Fare an' budget oot - get a lot o' messages. Probably aifter that, Ah'd be quite squanderous 'cos if ye get a lot o' money. . . If Ah get it weekly, Ah ken whit Ah'm limited tae buy. But if Ah got it every four weeks, Ah'd say, "Ah can **afford** a pair o' shoes". But Ah couldnae' really, maybe. It's silly. If ye cannae' buy a pair o' shoes off **weekly** money, hoo can ye buy them off **monthly** money? It's jist the same. . .
>
> Ah worry aboot debt. Ah dinnae' like tae owe onybody money; even if it wis jist Ah owed ye a poond, Ah wid need tae gi' ye it back. Ah've never ever taken debt on fer ma kids' Christmas. Fortunately, Ah wis never in that position. Ah don't think Ah ever could've because if ye cannae' pay it **then** [at the time] an' ye're oan the bru, hoo can ye possibly pay it aifter Christmas? The kids are gonna suffer **mair**. But Ah can understand their thinkin' in daein' it. If they've been unemployed a' year, they felt they've really **deprived** their kids a' year, an' they're maybe tryin' tae make it up tae them. 'Cos they maybe **hiv**' been a bit deprived a' year, an' other kids whose parents **are** workin' are gettin' that much (Ah can mind when we were young, ma mam wis quite puir; ma dad **worked** but she really used tae dae without tae get us good things at Christmas, simply 'cos other kids **got**.). . . Ah think aboot debt **before** Ah wid take it, so they're maybe no' thinkin' too much aboot **aifter** it. . .
>
> Maist folk that are unemployed hiv' no' got a lot tae look forward tae. So if they can **grab** somethin' the noo, they're gonna grab it, aren't they? 'Cos, they're thinkin' "It'll no' be ony **worse**. . . " It certainly **cannae'** get ony worse fer them. So if they're bringin' a wee bit o' pleasure tae the wains. But they'll need tae pay the bikes - they'll get paid jist the same, maybe doin' without somethin' they squandered before.

Talking about the unemployed obtaining goods from mail order companies, she pointed out;

> They widnae' think they could save up fer it, 'cos they wid dip intae the money fer somethin' else; hivin' money in yer pocket, ye naturally want tae spend it. But if ye've got a catalogue tae pay, ye'll pay it. Although, they're usually much dearer oot o' the catalogue - that's a shame. But it's a way o' gettin' it, so they get it. Ah'm gettin' roond tae the way o' thinkin', if ye limit it tae one thing at a time, ye're actually **savin'**, 'cos ye widnae' save the money oan yer ain. Ye've **got** tae budget when ye're unemployed. . . it is difficult. If ye're workin', ye could say, "Och, Ah'll pay that **next** week", 'cos ye ken "Ah can **afford** tae dae that next week". When ye're unemployed ye cannae' afford tae dae that once - ye've got tae do it [pay] every week. 'Cos if ye miss oot one week, ye cannae' possibly pay it two weeks the next week. . .
>
> But if Ah had surplus money, Ah wid like tae be able tae say "Well, come on, we'll go oot fer a Chinese meal the night", an' it widnae' worry me that Ah hadnae' ony money fer the mornin' - Ah wid dae it! If Ah've got money Ah spend it, 'cos it might not be here long! If Ah got a job, Ah widnae' save again. Ah've saved before, an' had a couple o' thoosand in the bank an' nae worries. But whit are ye tryin' tae achieve? My attitude has changed. . . Ah suppose people save fer their holidays yet [still], but tae save jist tae hiv money in the bank - Ah don't think a lot o' people dae

that noo, Ah find noo maist people spend their money as they get it.

Asked what she would do if she won the pools, Isabel said:

> Ah'd buy a new pair o' jeans! (Ah'd need tae think aboot the last time Ah got new claes. It wis a jumper or somethin', months ago!) Ah really don't know. Ah wid spend a lot o' it oan the family. Ah'd see ma mam an' dad OK, and the rest o' ma brothers an' sisters. But ma own immediate family - ma son an' daughter - wid come first. Ah'd invest money fer them till they were 21 or somethin'. Ah widnae' gi' 'em a lot o' luxuries, 'cos it's nae guid fer ye tae get things. Ye've got tae work fer things. [My son's] goin' intae the Air Force but if he wanted it fer educational purposes, Ah wid gi' him it. But Ah widnae' go extravagantly stupit.
>
> Ah wid buy a hoose. . . Maybe buy a shop or a boardin' hoose or hairdressers or somethin', Ah couldnae' jist no' work an' ha' a' the money. Ye're still makin' money; ye're still workin' an meetin' folk, but ye're daein' whit ye want tae dae, Ah don't mind workin' fer other folk, but Ah couldnae' hiv' them workin' fer me, Ah'd feel like a . . ., although it wid be quite guid fer somebody tae get a job. If Ah won a load o' money, Ah wid hate folk tae think "Who does she think she is, bossin' folk aboot?"
>
> If Ah had plenty money. . . Ah could get up in the mornin' an' say, "Well, Ah'll ha' this fer ma breakfast", an' ye could really hiv' whitever ye wanted fer yer breakfast, an' yer dinner. Ye widnae' hiv' tae bother aboot usin' the leftovers frae the day before. That Ah wid like, 'cos that depresses ye a wee bit. It daes, although ye dinnae' ken it; ye're no' aware o' it at the time.

Asked what she would do with an extra £10 every week, she again mentioned food and clothes, ". . . an' maybe an extra bag o' coal a week! 'Cos Ah only buy two bags a week."

In 1983, she described a typical day:

> Ah lie as long as Ah can in the mornin', then Ah get up an' Ah go fer ma paper. . . Come hame an' Ah get ma breakfast. Hopefully, Ah'll go a walk if it's nice weather. . . That takes me up tae 12 o'clock. But if Ah don't go a walk, Ah dae ma hoosework. An' then, in the aifternoon, Ah maybe crochet or read - Ah read a lot. Then Ah go up tae visit ma mam, who disnae' keep very well. Ah keep poppin' up there a' day. Some days Ah get awfi' bored; some days Ah get up an' Ah cannae' even be bothered daein' ma work 'cos Ah'm so bored. Get fed up. . . because Ah'm that used tae bein' busy.
>
> Ah make the dinner aboot five, an' ma brother's usually here, so Ah'm quite busy. An' then, aifter dinner is over, sit doon a wee while. Seven o'clock, Ah usually watch the television. Fortunately, frae [since] [a friend]'s come up wi' this youth club, that's takin' up two nights a week, an' it's great. (Because it used tae be seven nights wi' nothin' tae dae whereas, noo the night Alan an' I will be in the hoose by oorselves, an' we'll enjoy it, instead o' bein' in the hoose a' week). Other nights, we're jist watchin' the TV.
>
> Friday night [my son and daughter] come doon. They occupy ma full weekend, so it's back tae Monday again. The weekend's great fer me; but through the week, it can get a bit . . ., but frae the youth club's appeared, Ah've no' really been fed up. Ah wid

advise onybody tae dae onythin' frae their unemployed, even if it's voluntary, or goin' intae an organisation, joinin' a club or somethin', jist tae get them oot. Ah think ye get intae a rut an' ye dinnae' want tae. . . somebody's tae push ye. When [her friend] asked me tae help at the youth club, Ah didnae' want tae get involved at first. . . didnae' want tae commit maself. . .

She admitted that she had done a couple of undeclared "one-off" cleaning jobs for someone in the local town while she was unemployed:

Ah justified it by sayin', "Well, Ah worked fer years, an' Ah paid tax fer years, an' my husband paid tax fer years. . . An' Ah asked [the DHSS] fer money [a Special Needs Payment] an' they jist gave me a note back; jist totally refused. So Ah wis daein' 'em oot o' money when Ah wis workin', but Ah thought Ah wis entitled tae it.

She had also been able to use one of her hobbies to make a little extra money at Christmas, by supplying crocheted childrens' bonnets to other villagers and to "folk that work beside Alan". But "Ah got under pressure last year. Alan brought home two big orders, an' Ah never stopped workin' day an' night daein' they hats. But Ah **wanted** tae dae it . . . quite like it, the challenge".

Apart from rare periods such as this, while unemployed Isabel experienced time as a limitless and negative entity. As she said, she used to long for a day off when she was working, but:

Noo, Ah've got every **day**, an' every **week**, an' every **month** (an' maybe every **year**!. . . Ah don't know) tae dae **nothin'**, an' it gets quite borin'. It's much slower noo. 'Cos noo Ah know whit like an 'oor is. . . it jist drags roond. Ah think mair aboot time when Ah'm no' workin' because ye've got a lot o' it. . . If ye're goin' somewhere at a certain **day**, even, ye're wishin' it wis **then**. Ye're wishin' days o' yer life away. . . When Ah'm in the hoose it's a **lang** day. An' ye think "Oh gosh, it's only one o'clock". An' Ah lie in ma bed till aboot 10 or 11 o'clock because Ah dinnae' want tae get up because it's that lang. It disnae' matter whit ye try tae dae tae pass the time, it's still borin'.

In the summer, it's no' as bad 'cos ye can go oot mair but, still, it's a lang day. It's a langer **week**. Ah often feel Ah'm wastin' ma time when Ah'm in the hoose, all day by mysel'. Feel as if Ah could be daein' somethin' fer somebody, somewhere, who needed me! But when ye stay in Cauldmoss, there's no' really much ye can dae, 'cos there's no' really any voluntary organisations here. Even if it's jist watchin' somebody's wains tae gi' them a break fer a wee while. When ye are unemployed, ye **dae** waste time; whit else can ye dae? Ah get awfi' **depressed** an' really **frustrated** wantin' tae dae somethin', but. . . There's a lot o' things ye can dae, but when ye've no' got money, ye cannae' dae them!

I asked if she thought people should always try to be busy:

Tae me, bein' busy is when ye hiv' tae dae yer work, an' ye hiv' tae go an' dae yer washin', an' ye hiv' tae dae somethin' - **that's** bein' busy. Tae me, sittin' aboot daein' crochetin' or readin' a book is enjoyin' it. Leisurely an' busy is two different things tae me.

Asked how she would feel about a future in which the majority of people did not need to work because they had been replaced by technology, Isabel replied:

> Well, if it wis socially acceptable, it'd be quite nice, because ye could adapt yersel' tae that way o' life, if there wis a lot mair leisure an' ye **knew** ye were gonna hiv' money. Whereas, the noo, it's **stigma** if ye're unemployed.

She said, however, that "Ah never think that far ahead". Even with her children,

> Ah never really think aboot whit Ah wid **like** them tae dae. Ah never really made ony plans fer them, jist like 'em tae dae whit they **want** tae dae. Ah wid like them tae be employed. Ah'd jist like them tae be happy. Well, ma son, he's got his definite plans whit he wants tae be. He thinks the future's in the Air Force. Ma daughter's only 12 at the moment, so it's hard tae say **whit** Ah want. It'll be **nice** when they get married, but Ah hope it's no fer a while. Ah look forward tae bein' a granny.

Asked whether she did anything in particular to find a job, Isabel said:

> It wis aboot last week Ah was at the Jobcentre. Ah go doon every week; there's never onythin' there. Ah look at they boards, an' they jist stare back at me. At first, when Ah went tae look fer a job, Ah started goin' in a' the shops in [the local town]. Ah thought, "Ah'm goin' tae systematically jist go through them a' an' **keep** goin' through them a', till they're fed up lookin' at me, an' **somebody'll** gi' me a job. But they don't **accept** ye in a shop noo; they say "We deal through the Jobcentre." Ah mean, when Ah got a job in a shop, ye jist walked in, an' **asked**. They used tae gi' ye **hope!** They dinnae' dae that noo. They don't even take Christmas staff noo, because they've got that many YOPers, they don't need tae.

> YOPers are makin' unemployment high. Ah noticed it when Ah worked in Woolworths. Two years aifter Ah left, Ah wis speakin' tae a woman who told me since then they hadn't employed one person. Every Christmas, they always took on 10 staff fer a full month, but they dinnae' noo 'cos o' YOPers. An' they never very rarely keep onybody oan.

Despite these claims made in 1983, at Christmas 1985 a shop did give Isabel a temporary job, which she heard about from a friend and got via the Jobcentre. After Christmas, she was offered a permanent job there; when I interviewed her soon afterwards she told me: "Ah feel terrific, totally different a'together. Financially, Ah'm no' **awfi'** much better off, the **noo** onyway. But, oh, Ah really feel great no' bein' oan the bru. . . Ah feel a different person - independent."

She admitted she had found it difficult adjusting to a new routine:

> When Ah started work, Ah wis in the middle o' paperin' ma back kitchen. So Ah wis comin' hame frae work an' tryin' tae get it done. Ah jist didnae' hiv enough time; it wis runnin' away frae me a' the time. Ah jist **couldnae'** catch up wi' everythin'. 'Cos there wis Christmas shoppin' an' [my son] was stayin' here, so Ah had a lot o'

washin' an' ironin' tae dae - it wis really terrible. [By the time of this interview her son had failed to get into the Air Force, and so had moved to the south-east of England to train as a psychiatric nurse]. Plus Ah wis workin' overtime - late on a Thursday night, an' on a Sunday. Ah had one day off in seven, tae dae **everythin'**. Ah wis racin' against the clock. But Ah suppose Ah quite enjoyed it.

Asked if she preferred to work as many hours as possible or to have time off she said:

Well if Ah worked three days, Ah wid ask fer mair work on other days. But Ah widnae' work night shift, or back shift. Ah widnae' like tae work till eight o'clock every Thursday night an' no' get hame till 9 o'clock. Ye need **some** time off tae yerself. Ah think five days is enough fer onybody. Fer a wee while, Alan wid work seven days a week. He works on a Sunday. Ah nag at him, but he does work if he can. 'Cos he kens it's no' every Sunday that he's gonna get tae work, an' he gets double-time fer it. But then again, dae ye live tae work, or dae ye work tae live?

Most of the time, she and Alan have a "mair o' less set routine" during the day, now they are both working:

Ah like tae be kinda organised in ma **ain** way. In the mornin' when Ah get up - Ah get up at seven o'clock - Ah like tae come doon here an' tidy up, go fer ma paper an' come back, sit doon fer ma breakfast, because Ah ken Ah can sit doon an' have a half an' 'oor tae relax. . . Ah wid hate tae get up an' **rush** away tae work. So Ah've got tae get up early tae dae that. That starts ma day right. A lot o' lassies at work jist get up ten minutes before the bus an' dive oot; Ah couldnae' dae that 'cos Ah widnae' feel right a' day. Normally Ah get there on time wherever Ah go. Like when Ah wis goin' fer that interview fer the job, Ah think Ah wis there half an' 'oor **before** it!

When ye're workin' ye're regimented. Ye get telt ye've got tae start at nine o'clock an' finish at five thirty. Ye've got a certain time fer yer tea, an' a certain time fer yer dinner. When Ah finished workin' at Christmas there Ah'd say: "Oh, the lassies'll be havin' their tea the noo".

Alan makes the dinner every night cos he's here ha'f an 'oor before me. But if it wis the other way aboot Ah'd make the dinner. . . When Ah come hame Ah've no' got any set routine, unless we're goin' a certain place. Alan's very regimented - if ye're goin' somewhere, ye've tae be ready at seven o'clock an' no' five past. He's awfi' pernickety that way; everythin's tae run like an army camp. He's terrible!. . . He does everythin' tae routine. He's an organiser!

About her experience of time, now she has work again, Isabel said:

When ye're workin' ye dinnae' think aboot it. Sometimes, ye've no' got enough time in the day when ye're workin'. Ye're that busy ye don't actually think aboot ye wish ye'd mair time. Even at night. . . when Ah'm readin', Ah never notice time passin' - Ah like readin'. The only time Ah really notice the time goin' awfi' slow noo is if Alan's workin' late. He's normally in at ha'f past five, but he goes tae his [electronics] course on a Wednesday - that'll be nine [pm] That's a **lang** three 'oors. It finished at Christmas, but it's startin' up again soon.

In terms of a weekly routine, Isabel admitted:

This is gonna sound daft, but noo we've got mair money than we had when Ah wisnae' workin', we stay in mair. We sit in noo, have a drink in the hoose. We've hardly been oot, even over Christmas - although Alan's dad died then, so. . . We used tae go oot on a Saturday night, but lately we havenae' really been . . . just when the mood takes ye. We're goin' oot on Saturday tae a Burns Supper. Ah go tae the Masonic bingo **every** Monday night normally.

Ah a'ways met Alan on a Friday an' got ma shoppin', an' when Ah'm workin', Ah still meet him at dinner time an' get maist o' ma messages an' he runs 'em hame 'cos he gets a ha'f day on a Friday. A Friday is a'ways ma shoppin' day, irrespective of whether Ah work or Ah dinnae'.

A Sunday's different. It's a lazy day. Ah never dae any housework on a Sunday. No' because Ah'm Christian [laugh]. Ah jist think ye should ha' a day off. Alan an' I usually go doon an' visit his mam, or get up an' read the Sunday papers (Alan usually makes the breakfast) an' loaf aboot! We dae it every weekend. Sometimes, we like tae ha' a nice bottle a' wine wi' oor meal on a Sunday, an' hiv' it quite special. We sit doon tae oor dinner every night, but on a Sunday, Ah like everythin' right nice.

On an annual basis, she told me, she and her relatives "only really bother" about birthdays, and Christmas and New Year: "Ma mam an' dad never ever celebrated their anniversary. When Ah wis married, Ah used tae go oot fer ma dinner every anniversary. Alan always takes me oot fer ma dinner oan ma birthday an' a'ways buys me somethin' quite nice. . . " "Holiday times" are a bit more special:

The Fair - Glasgow Fair - Easter, an' Christmas an' New Year, . . . ye dinnae' **dae** nothin'; ye've no' got ony routine. Everythin' jist a' changes. Ah never dae ony work! Ah like **Christmas.** Ah like the holidays, too. Ah like goin' away - days here an' there. Ah don't **particularly** like goin' away fer a fortnight - it's a bit borin'. Ah like tae get hame tae ma ain place at night. Although Ah think we're goin' tae try an' go away fer a fortnight this year - try an' get a caravan up north. . . It must be worse fer the unemployed 'cos they've actually got nae' money tae **enjoy** their day - their holidays.

Asked if she thinks much about the future, Isabel said: "No. Summer holiday's aboot as far as Ah'll get. An' even then, Ah dinnae' think 'Oh Ah wish it wis the holidays'; Ah jist think, 'Well, we're goin' up north fer oor holidays', an' that's aboot it'."

Her attitude towards money had changed since finding work:

Funnily enough, a' the time Ah wis workin' [before Christmas] Ah wis never skint; Ah wis never **needin'** ma wages. It wis quite guid. But when Ah wisnae' workin' ye jist looked forward tae pay day - "Ah'll hiv' money". When Ah'm workin' Ah dinnae' find it difficult tae budget things oot because ye've got mair money tae dae it wi'. . . Ah got that suite. Ah put the deposit doon an' Ah coonted oot a' the money Ah wid get in a' an' Ah thought, "Well, Ah **can** afford this suite". An' frae Christmas, Ah've paid £100, which Ah widnae' **saved**; Ah wid o' **spent** it. . . If Ah get this paid in ten month, (which Ah **dae** intent tae **dae**) Ah won't hiv' tae pay ony interest - Ah get it cash price. An' it only started two months ago, so Ah've got frae the beginnin' o' January, ten months.

She insisted that she still does not believe in saving money "jist fer the sake o' it", although she later told me, "We're savin' fer tae get a new bedroom all sorted up". But, generally, "Ah dinnae' think much in advance, 'cos if Ah've **got** money, Ah usually jist spend it". In fact, her view on most things is "Ah jist worry aboot the present. Whit everybody else does is **their** business". For example, "Ah dinnae' ever think aboot gettin' auld", she said.

Asked if she thought Cauldmoss will change much over the next few years, she replied: "Ah hope no'. Ah never gi' that much thought. Ah don't **think** so; that's probably jist wishful thinkin', but. . . Ah really don't see much future fer Cauldmoss at a', **employment**-wise. . . It'll be the same as the past - we'll be last!"

APPENDIX TWO

Genealogy of James Thompson

Key:

JAMES = lived all life in CM.

Mary = known to have left CM.

Matthew = came from CM.

Robert = residence uncertain, never lived in CM or came from outside CM.

Robert McDonald
loc.vill. 3
Bus driver
= Mary
loc.vill. 3

Janet
d.1973

Robert
d.1981
Kingston-u-Thames
Painter/decorator
= ?
England
Aileen
?

James
b.1938
d. 1970
Patricia
Chemist
= Daniel
?

Mary
b.1939
Glasgow
Cleans cars
= Walter Boyle
Caterpillar fact.
Elaine
Shop assistant
David
Engine driver

ELIZABETH
b.1940
School cleaner
= George Ferguson
Building
JOAN
Dogwalker

Alexander
b.1941
loc.town
Building gaffer
= Sadie
Susan
=
?
Deirdre
= James
?
Alexander
Builder with F.
Lilian
School
Duncan
School

James
Builder
= ?
?
?
?

Robert
Bus driver

JAMES
b.1912
Miner, grave dig.
= Sarah Campbell
b.1919
d.1965
of Glasgow

John
b.1943
loc.town
= Janet
John
School
Janet
School
Shirley
School

JANET
b.1946
= Andrew Blair
Steel erector
James
Army
ANDREW
Unemployed
?
THOMAS
FRANCES
School
LAURA
School
ANGELA
School

Mary Douglas
=
JOHN
b.1880
Miner

JOHN THOMPSON
b.1850
Miner.
=
Agnes

Florence
b.1948
loc.vill. 2
Librarian
= Robert Watson
Oil rig engineer
Jaqueline
Ross

Christine
b.1949
loc.vill. 2
School cleaner
= Sam Findlay
Oil rig
Lorraine
Craig

Grace
b.1951
loc.vill. 3
= Samual Cuthbertson
Truck factory
Maureen
School

Matthew

SUSAN
b.1951
= Samual Buchanan
Concrete finisher
ANN
School
MOIRA
School

Robert

Laura
b.1954
loc.town
School cleaner
= Matthew White
Bricklayer
Donald
School
James
School

ANN
b.1961
Unemployed

John
d.1983
Kingston-u-Thames
Bus driver
= Barbara Scott
?
?

Gordon

James Scott
= ?
Wilma
= ?
James
CM
Unemployed

GRACE
=
James Gray
of loc.vill. 3
Miner, storeman
retired
Elizabeth Gray
d.1983
loc.vill. 3
= Hugh
LINDA
b. 1944
Elizabeth
b. 1946
loc.vill. 1
Matthew

?
=
MATTHEW
Miner, engineer

Matthew
loc.vill. 4
= ?
?
?

Agnes
=
?
Robert
loc.vill.1

Allan
England
Window cleaner
= ?
?
?
?
?

Ian
=
?
?
loc.vill. 1
?
loc.vill. 1

SHEENA

ISABELLA
= Helen
?

APPENDIX THREE
QUESTIONNAIRES AND TIME AND MONEY BUDGET SURVEYS.

Introduction.

Since I have already referred to, and analysed, various findings from the two questionnaires Wight and I carried out, and from our survey of time and money budgets, what follows is not intended to be a systematic discussion of all aspects of these projects. Rather, it is aimed at providing additional information on these quantitative methods, including tables presenting the main results. I will point out the difficulties and drawbacks involved in these projects, factors which led me to draw on their results to only a limited extent in the thesis proper.

The first questionnaire.

In Chapter Two I briefly described our aims and methods in carrying out an initial questionnaire in 1982, and referred the reader to a report containing a fuller discussion of these, and of our findings. Some of the results of the questionnaire have been used in Chapter Four to compare the employment status of villagers in 1982 and 1985, and in discussing religious affiliation, for example. They were also used in Chapter Six in analysing the way in which inhabitants tend to define and distinguish different types of activity. The questionnaire form itself is shown overleaf and **Table 10** presents a full picture of respondents' replies when asked to define 45 activites: "I'd like you to tell me briefly how you would describe each one; is it "work", or what would you call it?"

FIRST CAULDMOSS QUESTIONNAIRE (1982)

NAME		ADDRESS	
AGE			
HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN C.?			

ACTIVITIES

1	COAL MINING	
2	HELPING SOMEONE TO MAKE JAM	
3	DIGGING THE GARDEN	
4	DOING HOMEWORK	
5	WATCHING TV.	
6	DRIVING A LORRY FOR HAULAGE	
7	SELLING VEGETABLES OR FRUIT FROM YOUR GARDEN	
8	MAKING A MEAL FOR YOUR CHILDREN	
9	GOING TO SCHOOL	
10	PLAYING FOOTBALL	
11	DEALING IN SCRAP METAL	
12	GOING TO (the local town) TO SIGN ON THE 'BRU'	
13	DOING THE SHOPPING	
14	KNITTING	
15	BABYSITTING FOR A FRIEND OR RELATIVE	
16	SELLING INSURANCE	
17	CATCHING RABBITS TO SELL	
18	DOING THE WASHING UP	
19	MOUNTAINEERING	
20	COLLECTING YOUR PENSION	
21	PAINTING A ROOM IN YOUR HOUSE	
22	PACKING GOODS IN A FACTORY	
23	DOING SOME PLUMBING FOR A FRIEND FOR CASH	
24	TAKING THE DOG FOR A WALK	
25	TAKING PART IN A YOP SCHEME	
26	WIRING A PLUG	
27	GOING TO CHURCH	
28	GOING TO KEEP-FIT CLASS	

D	29	PICKING FLOWERS FROM YOUR GARDEN
	30	STUDYING AT COLLEGE
	31	BRINGING IN THE COAL
	32	PLAYING CARDS FOR MONEY
	33	USING YOUR VAN TO DO REMOVALS FOR CASH
	34	CLEANING OUT THE PIGEONS
	35	DESIGNING AN OFFICE BLOCK
	36	CATCHING RABBITS TO EAT YOURSELF
	37	READING A BOOK OR MAGAZINE
	38	REPAIRI .G YOUR CAR
	39	COOKING SCHOOL MEALS
	40	GOING TO YOUTH CLUB
	41	VISITING A SICK NEIGHBOUR TO SEE IF THEY NEED HELP
	42	HELPING SOMEONE TO DECORATE THEIR HOUSE
	43	PLOUGHING A FIELD
	44	ORGANISING A MEETING
	45	WALKING FROM DOOR TO DOOR DOING A QUESTIONNAIRE
E	1	DO YOU HAVE A JOB
	2	IF SO, WHAT IS IT

F HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE

WHAT ARE THEIR	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE

G HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE LIVING IN THE HOUSEHOLD ALTOGETHER

H HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU LEFT SCHOOL

I DID YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER EDUCATION AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL

J ARE YOU ASSOCIATED WITH ANY CHURCH

Code:

0: ion of activities age code use	Work 1	Occupation 2	Hard work 3	Sex-defined work 4	Business 5	Side-line 6	Sort of work 7	Pleasure 8	Leisure 9	Necessity 10	Helping 11	Unenjoyable 12	Gambling 13	Education 14	Poaching 15	Not work 16	Morally positive 17	Morally negative 18	Miscellaneous 19	Don't knows 20	Total no. codes used
al mining	73		24				1									1			1		5
lping someone to make jam	18			2			2	18	41	1	8	2				4			2	1	11
igging the garden	41		20				2	6	22	4						1			4		8
ing homework	38						3	3		26		5		12		1	6	1	3	2	11
tching T.V.								37	50			7					1	4	2		6
ing a lorry for haulage	73		18					2		1		3					1		1		7
ding fruit or vegs from garden	22		3		6	20	3	6	15		2					5		10	6	3	12
king a meal for children	25		2	2			6	24	2	33		2				1	2		2		11
ing to school	11						2	17	3	45		4		12			2		2	1	10
laying football								36	61			2						1	1		5
ding in scrap metal	63	1	10		12	4	4	1		1						1		2		1	11
ing to local town to sign on "the brn"	1		1				1	4	1	39		37				5		5	4	3	11
oing the shopping	13		6	6			2	16	7	37		7				3	1		3		11
nitting	4			2		2		27	62	1		3									7
bysitting for a friend or relative	9		2					25	14	4	30	5				1	4	1	4	2	12
elling insurance	71	2	13		3		1		2	1		1				4	1			1	11
tching rabbits to sell	16		4		2	3	2	11	27	1		1			19	2		9	1	3	14
ing the washing up	33		3	2			1	7	4	38	4	5				3			1		11
ountaineering	3		13					24	46			1				1		10	2	1	9
llecting your pension	4						1	23	3	52		1				7	3	1	1	5	11
inting a room in your house	41		13				1	13	4	16		5				1			3	2	10
cking goods in a factory	81		5				2					9				1		1		1	7
ing some plumbing for a friend for cash	56				2	12	5	4	3	1	7					2	1	5	2	1	13
king the dog for a walk	3		1				1	45	34	11	1	1					1		3		10
king part in a YOP scheme	41		3			2	2	15	5	1	2	2		1		2	7	15	2		14
iring a plug	22	1	1				3	4	4	49	2	2				9		1	2	1	13
oing to church								32	15	7		5				2	14		18	6	8
ing to keep-fit class	7		3				1	27	37	4		3				3	7		8	1	11
icking flowers from your garden	3							58	30	1		1				3		1	1	3	9
tudying at college	46		18				8	7		11				5			1		4	1	9
inging in the coal	23		8				5	4	1	45	2	3				8			2		10
laying cards for money	2						1	28	25			3	31					9	1	1	7
ing your van to do removals for cash	59	1	9		5	11	2	2	1	1	5	i						2	1	1	14
eaning out pigeons	25		4	2	1			17	31	16		1				1	1		1		11
signing an office block	73	6	7		1		1	4		1						2		1	2	3	11
tching rabbits to eat yourself	6		2			1		11	43	4		2			10	4		3	11	3	12
ading a book or magazine	1							53	43					1			1		1		6
epairing your car	31		7	1		1	2	9	13	27		2						1	6		11
oking school meals	81		10				1	3	2	2									1	1	8
ing to youth club			1					49	43	1				1			3		2		7
iting a sick neighbour e if they need help	2		1				1	19	2	12	43	5				3	10		1	2	12
elping someone to corate their house	35		7				1	21	4	3	21	3				1	1		2	2	12
oughing a field	70	1	19				1	3		3		1				2					8
ganising a meeting	22		9		2		11	21	7	7		3				10	1		5	3	12
lking from door to r doing a questionnaire	54		8				5	5	3	3		9				4			6	4	10

The second questionnaire.

Again, I discussed the methodology of the second questionnaire in Chapter Two, and used its findings in Chapter Four when discussing employment rates and villagers' place of origin. It provided data in regard to the ownership of clocks and watches used in Chapter Three. Chapter Six refers to quantitative data on the types of events celebrated in Cauldmoss; on the degree and experience of routine and breaks in routine; on the allocation of money to various current and future events and activites, and to villagers' proposals as to how they would use a financial windfall. It also makes use of quantitative findings on the experience and use of free time. The questionnaire form was as follows:

SECOND CAULDMOSS QUESTIONNAIRE (1985).

(Introduction for those who had answered the first Questionnaire.)

Hello, are you Mr/Mrs _____? My name's _____You may remember that some time ago you answered a questionnaire for us. We're now trying to go back to everyone we asked then to see how much things have changed in Cauldmoss as a whole. We're also interested in how people use their time and what they spend their money on, and how these things are effected by unemployment. We'd be very grateful if you would help us again with a questionnaire of about 15 minutes. Everything you say will be confidential, and if there are any questions you don't want to answer you could just say "pass".

(Introduction for those who had not been questioned before.)

Hello, are you Mr/Mrs_____? My name's_____and I'm carrying out a project for Edinburgh University about how people use their time and what they spend their money on, and how these things are effected by unemployment. We are asking people at every tenth house if they'll answer a questionnaire of about 15 minutes. We'd be very grateful if you would help. We got you name and address from the voters' register. Everything you say will be confidential. If there are any questions you don't want to answer, you could just say "pass".

Name:_____

Address:_____

To begin with I'd like to ask you about how your employment situation has changed, and also that of your family.

OR

To begin with I'd like to get some background information about your job and information

about the rest of your family.

How many live in this household altogether?_____

		Sex	Age	Residence	Occupation	Previous occupation	Time since last job	Length of resid. in CM
Self								
H/W								
Child								
Child								
Child								
Child								

Would you/your wife take a job if offered one?_____

First of all can I ask a few questions about the way in spend your time?

1. Could you tell me what sort of things you do in your free time?_____
   (Prompt: Do you belong to any clubs, or organisations?_____
   What about sports or other outdoor activities?)_____

2. Do you think you have enough free time?_____
   Why/not?_____

3. Do you think your life goes on the same from day to day, or are there any days that stand out as different?_____
   - Are there any weeks in the year that stand out as different?_____
   - Is there anything you look forward to?_____
   - Is there anything you worry about?_____

4. How many times did you go out in the evening in the last seven days?_____
   - Where did you go?_____
   - in the pub or club were you buying rounds?_____
   - for how many?_____
   - Does your husband/wife go out much in the evenings?_____

5. Do you tend to get up at about the same time each day?_____

- What about the rest of your family?_____
- What about at the weekends?_____

6. Do you tend to go to bed at about the same time each day?_____
   - What about the rest of your family?_____
   - What about at the weekends?_____

7. Do you tend to eat meals at about the same time each day?_____
   - What about the rest of your family?_____
   - What about at the weekends?_____

8. Is any meal in the week a special one?_____
   - why is it special?_____
   - Do you ever have relatives or friends for a meal (not just a snack), or do you go round to have a meal with anyone else?_____
   - how frequently?_____

9. Do you celebrate birthdays and anniversaries?_____
   - Are there any other things you celebrate, or any other times you do something special?_____

   (prompt: What about family events, or special events in your life-time). _____

10. Do you (or your wife) get new clothes for yourself or the children at any particular time of the year?_____

    (prompt: What about holidays?) _____

Would you mind answering some questions about how you use your income?

11. What would you like more money for at the moment?_____
    - What if you won the pools?_____
    - How would you spend an extra £10 a week?_____

12. If you had less to spend what would you do without?_____

13 Would you mind telling me who is in charge of the money in this household?_____

(prompt: Who keeps the money and who decides how it is spent?)_____

14. Does your husband/wife give you (or do you give your H/W) a certain amount every week, for example, or as you or s/he need it?_____

15. Do you make regular payments to anything, like:

- a mortgage?_____
- insurance?_____

(prompt: What kinds of insurance: endowments, households, burial, etc?)_____.

- a club?_____
- savings?_____
- anything else?_____

16. Do you think it's a good idea to buy things on credit (when you get something and then pay for it afterwards in installments?)_____

17.When did you last redecorate your living-room?_____

- Do you normally do it at that time?_____

18.How long have you had your three piece suite?_____

19. Do you have a telephone?_____

20.Do you have a car?_____

21.Do you have a video?_____

22. Do you have a deep freeze?_____

23.Do you have a microwave?_____

24.Do you have a clock in the kitchen or dining room?_____

25. Do you have a clock in the living-room?_____

26.Do you have a clock in the bedroom?_____

27.Do you have a clock in any other rooms?_____

28. Do you wear a watch?_____

- What about your husband/wife?_____

29Do you have a calender?_____

- Do you use it much?_____
- What do you use it for?_____

30. Do you use a diary?_____

- Is it for future events or is it to record what has happened to you in the past?_____

That's the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your help. The reason I asked about whether you keep a diary is because the second stage of this survey is where we are asking people if they would be willing to fill in some special diary sheets. One is about the way you spend your time and the other is about money. It would take you longer to do than the questionnaire did, and I'd need to explain how to fill them in. Would you be willing to do it? Have you got a few minutes spare now, or can I come back later on?

****

Sampling.

In the main body of the thesis I mention differences between the various subsamples questioned, and **Diagrams 1 and 2** below provide details of the size of these groups within the sample. For some of the tables, I have used the status of individual respondents as the basis for tabulation, in others, where the nature of the question makes it more appropriate, I have used the status of the household as a unit. The subsamples identified are based on the sex, accommodation, and work status of respondents. Of course, I could also have used the age of individuals in an attempt to discover if, for example, those aged under 30, 30 to 60, and over 60 display different behaviour and report different experiences. For the sake of brevity, I have not used this variable in most cases, assuming that the "retired" subsample will provide some insight into the view point of the elderly at least.

The composition of the aggregated subsamples "Total Men" and "Total Women" is as shown in Diagram 1 (this is relevant to those tables based on the status of individual respondents). From this information it is possible to work out the constituent parts of the other subsamples cited, for example, "total council tenants" or "total employed". Later tables are based on the status of the household to which the respondent belongs, that is, "employed household"- where at least one adult (husband or wife) has a job, "unemployed households" where neither is in paid employment, and "retired households" where both are retired. The composition of subsamples in this case is as indicated in Diagram 2. Again, it is possible to calculate the number and percentage of, for example, council households in the other subsamples mentioned, such as "total employed" by using the above diagram.

How representative of various subgroups in Cauldmoss were our samples? We had two options open to us in calculating the size of the different subgroups in the population of the village, the first based on information coming from our questionnaire respondents (and their spouse where appropriate) only, and the second on information provided by them about themselves and about their children in Cauldmoss. We found that the second

approach produced results close to those of the census, and in this larger sample as a whole (162 individuals):

48% were in employment
16% were unemployed or temporarily sick
19% were housewives
14% were pensioners

However, from this larger sample the smaller group (of 62 individuals) which provided the actual responses to the questionnaire we are about to consider (that is, the husband and wife in the 10% of households approached) was constituted thus:

34% were in employment
21% were unemployed or temporarily sick
19% were housewives
26% were retired

Since I have not attempted to adjust the figures in the following tables to try and bring them into line with the proportion of the larger sample, the reader must bear in mind that in the tables which follow the number of those with jobs is under-represented, while the unemployed, and to an even greater degree, the retired, are over-represented. Only the figures showing the responses of housewives are free from suspicion. This warning is especially important when considering the columns containing figures aggregating the responses of all men, all women or the sample as a whole. It is less pertinent when comparing the smaller subsamples based on employment status. However, it remains true that the responses shown were provided by individuals from a sample of households in Cauldmoss selected on a random basis (every tenth house). Obviously such small samples do not allow me to claim I have uncovered statistically significant differences between the responses of subsamples.

I felt that by considering villagers' responses to a range of related questions it should be possible to build up a composite picture of the temporal orientation of each of the different subgroups in this community, to complement findings based on participant observation. The same disclaimer must apply to all the results of our questionnaire work however. For example, most respondents found it rather difficult to respond to questions framed in abstract terms such as "Are there any weeks in the year that stand out?" With this and many other questions, we attemped to phrase questions in terms familiar to villagers (using expressions such as "stand out", "special", "a good thing" etc) but

Diagram 1: Composition of sample for 1985 questionnaire, by gender.

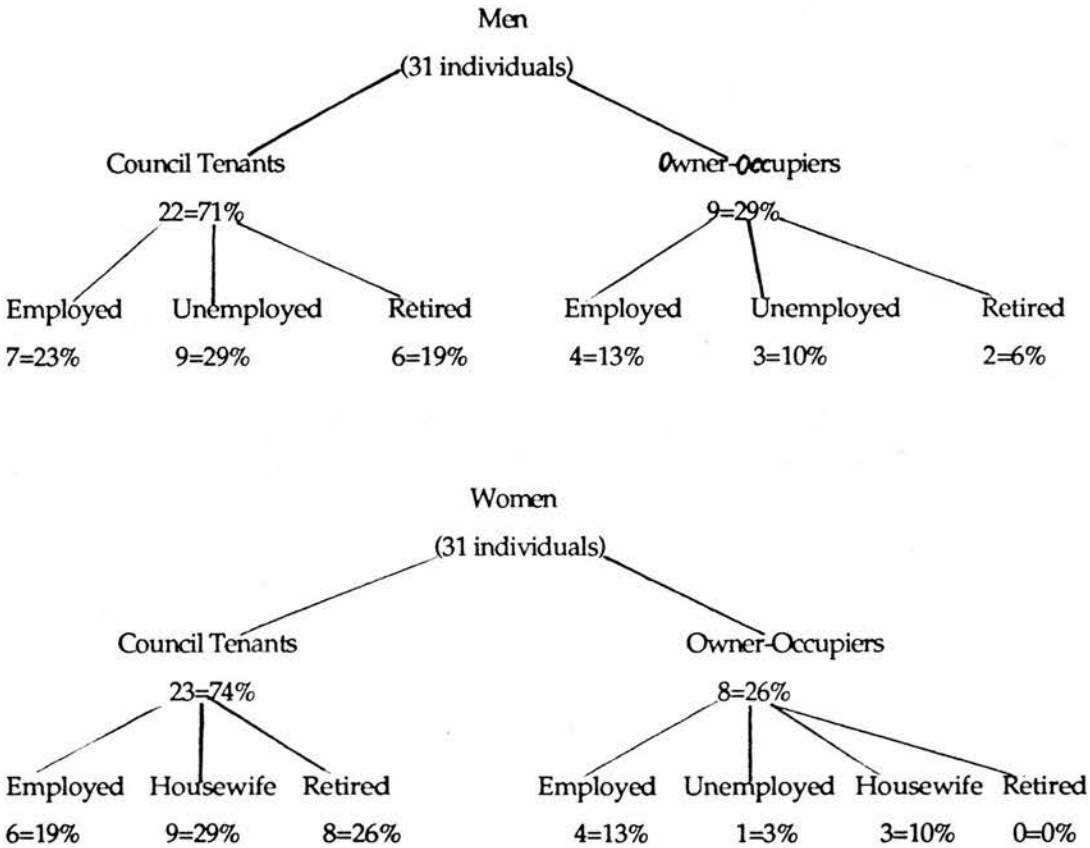
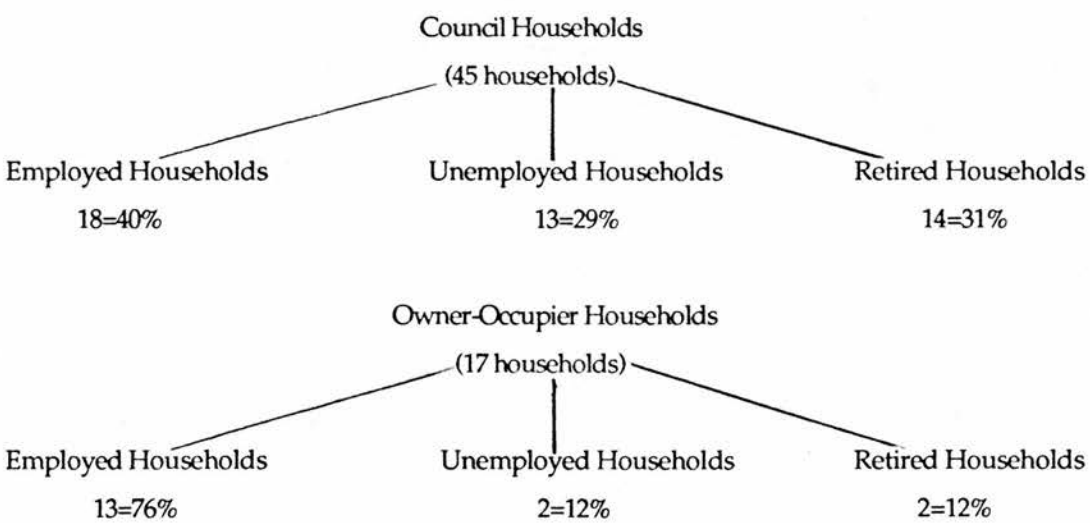


Diagram 2: Composition of sample for 1985 questionnaire, by accommodation.



individuals' answers still depended on their own particular interpretation of these terms - a problem in all such surveys.

Our intention was in fact to use such questions and the comments they inspired to try to discover the degree of overlap, for example, in the factors that make a meal "special" for a set of people, as well as to find out how many felt they had a "special" meal each week. The success of this method very much depends on the extent to which respondents are forthcoming in their replies. Even then, idiosyncratic responses can distort the overall picture; two women, for example, answered "No" to this particular question, but one went on to say "We just seem to eat a better meal on a Sunday", and the other said "On Saturday we usually have something . . . " [different?, better than usual?] - grounds which prompted most respondents to answer the question in the affirmative.

It seems to me that this type of problem arises from leaving one's questions too open-ended, from trying to combine quantitative and qualitative techniques in one exercise. Certainly, it has made the responses gathered difficult to summarise in a quantitive form. This admitted, it is, I feel, nevertheless worthwhile presenting our results here, if only in order to illustrate the relative merits of the quantitative and the qualitative approaches.

Celebrations.

Table 11 shows the responses of those in our sample to the question "Do you celebrate birthdays and anniversaries?" Having asked for details of how they celebrate these, if they do, we then went on "Are there any other things you celebrate, or any other time you do something special?", if necessary prompting "What about family events, or special events in your lifetime?" We felt that to ask "What sort of things do you celebrate?" would seem too abstract a way of phrasing it. Apart from the prompting, we found the main problem with the question, from the point of view of finding out about a range of time-marking events, was the use of the word "celebrate". This is a term which villagers seem to associate primarily with only certain festive (party) events such as Christmas and New Year. Most would not think of a christening, for example, as a "celebration". While it is possible that individuals will differ as to what they understand by "celebrate", their comments actually reveal a high level of agreement as to the way in which different events are, or should be, marked. The question also tended to lead respondents to think of events they celebrate regularly rather than on a one-off basis. It also discourages, of course, any mention of conventionally non-celebratory, but equally significant, occasions such as funerals and divorces. For these reasons, the results (see

Table 11: Events celebrated, by household (1985 questionnaire)

Event	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No[1]	%[2]	No[1]	%[2]	No[1]	%[2]	No[1]	%[2]	No[1]	%[2]	No[1]	%[2]
Birthdays	32	71	13	76	23	74	10	67	12	75	45	73
Wedding anniversaries	20	44	8	47	21	68	2	13	5	31	28	45
Weddings	6	13	2	12	4	13	3	20	1	6	8	13
Christenings	1	2	2	12	2	6	1	7	-	-	3	5
Retirements	3	7	1	6	2	6	-	-	2	12	4	6
Christmas	22	49	9	53	18	58	6	40	7	44	31	50
New Year	18	40	6	35	10	32	9	60	5	31	24	39
Finding work	-	-	1	6	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	2
Getting redundancy money	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	-	1	2
Coming into money	1	2	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	2
Old Folks Treats	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	12	2	3
V. E. Day	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	-	1	2
Muslim Festival	-	-	1	6	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	2
Total	107	-	43	-	83	-	33	-	34	-	150	-
No events cited	1	2	2	12	2	6	-	-	1	6	3	5
Sample size	45	73	17	27	31	50	15	24	16	26	62	100

Notes

1 – Number in subsample referring to event

2 – Percentage of subsample referring to event

Chapter Six) must be treated with caution.

Daily and weekly routine.

Table 12 contains responses to the question "Do you think your life goes on the same from day to day, or are there any days that stand out as different?" The results are summarised in Chapter Six, and a fuller account is given below. Respondents tended to reply in one of four basic ways. They said that:

I. Every day of the week is the same (either exactly or "more or less").
II. Most days are the same, but (a) certain(s) day(s) of the week stand(s) out.
III. They "take each day as it comes" or "just go from day to day", which suggests both similarity and difference.
IV. Every day is different from other days.

As Table 12 indicates, overall, 42% of the sample of 62 individuals felt that everyday is the same, and only 14% that each day is different. 31% said basically the same, with one or two different days each week, while 11% replied that they "take it as it comes" or words to that effect. Since the size of the subsamples becomes very small if we compare the respondents within the different subsamples **among** council tenants and then among owner-occupiers, I have not included these particular figures in the table but have aggregated the responses according to the larger subsamples. From the table, it appears that more woman than men felt their lives are the same "day after day" (48% and 35% respectively) though more women than men also felt every day is different (19% compared to 10%). Men clearly dominate however in terms of routinized variation (response II) which was reported by 45% of men compared to only 16% of women.

Comparing the configuration of answers given by council tenants taken as a whole and owner-occupiers, we find that while 41% of the latter (a group with a large proportion of members in employment) claimed to experience routinized variation, only 27% of council tenants did so, with a further 16% stating that they "take every day as it comes". The fact that none of the private house owners gave this response in reply to this question may reflect the position of many of them as incomers, unfamiliar with such sayings. It is also suggestive of a less passive approach to life.

In terms of differences based on the employment status of respondents, it appears that those with jobs expect the highest degree of routinized variation (57%), with only a minority claiming to see no landmarks in their fixed weekly timetable (19%) or claiming

that every day is different (14%). The unemployed, pensioners and housewives in our sample all demonstrate a markedly higher degree of unmitigated daily routine - response I - (54%, 56% and 50% respectively), and while a minority at least of pensioners and housewives found every day different (19% and 25%), not one of the unemployed shared this experience. Pensioners and housewives appeared to be the most fatalistic subsample, with 19% and 17% "taking it as it comes " (compared to only 5% of the employed and 8% of the unemployed). They were also the groups who experienced least routinized variation - only 6% and 8% respectively. As one OAP said "It goes on much the same - plenty monotonous at times", while a housewife pointed out "Ah have ma work tae dae every day - even holidays". (The same experience prompted fewer woman with jobs outside the home than employed men to report routinised variation - 33% and 57% respectively). Interestingly, 38% of the unemployed said that one day of the week stands out from the rest (for the majority this was the day they received their "giro"), but their comments reveal that this was not often seen in the same positive light as were weekends by the employed. It was simply the day when necessities could be bought and debts repaid. For the majority of the unemployed, even this was not seen as worthy of mention.

Table 12: The experience of weekly routine, by individual (1985 questionnaire)

Resp	Men		Women		Coun.		Priv.		Empl.		Unemp.		Ret.		HW.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
R1	11	35	15	48	19	42	7	41	4	19	7	54	9	56	6	50	26	42
R2	14	45	5	16	12	27	7	41	12	57	5	38	1	6	1	8	19	31
R3	3	10	4	13	7	16	0	0	1	5	1	8	3	19	2	17	7	11
R4	3	10	6	19	7	16	2	12	3	14	0	0	3	19	3	25	9	14
R5	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	6	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Size	31		31		45		17		21		13		16		12		62	

Responses

R1 – Every day of week is same

R2 – Most days the same but one or two different

R3 – Take every day as it comes

R4 – Every day of week is different

R5 – No reply

Tables 13, 14 and 15 deal with responses to the following questions:

- "Do you tend to get up at about the same time each day?" (Prompt: "What about at weekends?")
- "Do you tend to go to bed at about the same time each day?" (Prompt: "What about at weekends?")
- "Do you tend to eat meals at about the same time each day?" (Prompt: "What about at weekends?")

In each case, the table indicates the proportion of individuals who stated that they carry out the activity in question:

I. at the same time every day, including weekends.
II. at the same time every week-day, but at a time which differs from this at weekends.
III. at a different time every day, including weekends.

Looking at the sample as a whole and at all three tables together, it appears that there is a very high degree of regularity in Cauldmoss, in the timing of these activities at least. The times at which one gets up and when one eats are especially routine, with 63% and 69% respectively doing these at the same time every single day and only 8% and 15% at different times everyday. While individuals may have a set daily timetable for such events, there is variation between individuals, especially when it comes to getting-up times. Respondents mentioned rising at times ranging from 4.45am to "afternoon", though the average time was around 7.30am. Many people reported that they go to bed whenever the TV channel they happen to be watching finishes, which explains the relatively high percentage of respondents who go to bed at different times each night (although at 39% this is still a minority, and 47% go to bed at the same time every single day). As for meal times, many of those who mentioned particular set times told us their main meal "through the week" [on weekdays] is at around 5pm or 5.30pm.

In terms of variation at weekends, relatively few respondents make a change in their routine by eating or going to bed at a time different from that on weekdays (16% and 14% repectively), but 29% reported getting up at a different time on Saturday and Sundays - most of them later than normal, after "a long lie".

Bearing in mind these general trends, as with Table 12, women on the whole would seem to experience less variety in the timing of these activities than do men, and with all three activities (especially going to bed times) they reported doing them at fixed times every single day to a greater degree than did the males in our sample. The only exception is that slightly more women than men claimed to get up at a different time at the

Table 13: Regularity of getting-up times, by individual (1985 questionnaire)

Resp	Men		Women		Coun.		Priv.		Empl.		Unemp.		Ret.		HW.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
R1	19	61	20	65	30	67	9	53	10	47	6	47	14	88	9	75	39	63
R2	8	26	10	32	11	24	7	41	9	43	5	38	1	6	3	25	18	29
R3	4	13	1	3	4	9	1	6	2	10	2	15	1	6	0	0	5	8
Size	31		31		45		17		21		13		16		12		62	

Responses

R1 – Same time every day of week

R2 – Same time every weekday, different times at weekend

R3 – Different time every day of week

Table 14: Regularity of going to bed times, by individual (1985 questionnaire)

Resp	Men		Women		Coun.		Priv.		Empl.		Unemp.		Ret.		HW.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
R1	12	39	17	55	20	45	9	52	6	28	4	31	11	69	8	67	29	47
R2	6	19	3	10	5	11	4	24	5	24	3	23	1	6	0	0	9	14
R3	13	42	11	35	20	44	4	24	10	48	6	46	4	25	4	33	24	39
Size	31		31		45		17		21		13		16		12		62	

Responses

R1 – To bed same time every day of week

R2 – To bed same time every weekday, different time at weekend

R3 – To bed different time every day of the week

Table 15: Regularity of meal times, by individual (1985 questionnaire)

Resp	Men		Women		Coun.		Priv.		Empl.		Unemp.		Ret.		HW.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
R1	20	65	23	74	32	71	11	65	12	57	7	54	12	75	12	100	43	69
R2	6	19	4	13	9	20	1	6	7	33	2	15	1	6	0	0	10	16
R3	5	16	4	13	4	9	5	29	2	10	4	31	3	19	0	0	9	15
Size	31		31		45		17		21		13		16		12		62	

Responses

R1 – Meals same time every day of week

R2 – Meals same time every weekday, different time at weekend

R3 – Meals different times every day of week

weekends (32% and 26% respectively), although in three cases women said they got up earlier rather than later on Saturdays: one to "catch the butchers van" and another explaining that she had to prepare for dog shows.

A substantially higher proportion of owner-occupiers (29%) had no fixed routine for meals compared to council tenants (9%), though this is counterbalanced by the ratio of council tenants with no fixed bed time (44%), compared to owner-occupiers giving the same response (24%). In two out of the three activities the percentage of council tenants claiming a completely unvaried routine was greater than that among owner-occupiers, and the latter reported a higher level of routinized variation overall (as in Table 12). The only exception is that a markedly higher percentage of tenants (20%) varied their temporal routine for meals at weekends compared to owners (6%).

Comparing the employed and the unemployed in Table 15 we find much similarity overall. The only real differences are that less than half as many of the unemployed vary their routine for meals at weekends compared to the employed and that three times as many claim to have no fixed eating times at all. Once again, the retired and especially housewives reported a much higher level of unbroken routine in regard to meal times than did the employed, and in this case, they also substantially exceed the level reported by the unemployed. In line with this, housewives also demonstrated low levels of both lack of routine, and of routine variation, with none of them claiming to get up or eat at different times every day. It should be remembered however that the responses of housewives may be distorted to some extent by the fact that it is a matter of professional pride among many Cauldmoss housewives to maintain a regular routine in the house.

Table 16 presents responses to the question "Is any meal in the week a special one? Why is it special?" When analysing this table, it is especially important to consider the bases on which different types of respondents answered our questions. For example, it is perhaps, at first glance, surprising to note that slightly more individuals from unemployed households than employed households felt that they had one meal each week that was "special" (60% and 55% respectively) One might expect that those with a small income are least able to indulge in an especially "nice" meal, even only once a week. However, respondents' comments revealed that the reason several employed households answered "no" to this question was because they felt they have for example, "good meat" or "a nice dinner" every day, and need not limit it to one day per week. The same fact probably explains the markedly lower percentage of owner-occupier households (76% of which were employed) who have one particular "special meal", compared to council tenants (only 40% being employed households). It would appear that many unemployed

Table 16: Occurrence of special weekly meal, by household (1985 questionnaire)

Response	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
One special meal	25	56	6	35	17	55	9	60	5	31	31	50
No special meal	20	44	11	65	14	45	6	40	11	69	31	50
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

Table 17: Nights out in 7-day period, by individual (1985 questionnaire)

Resp	Men		Women		Coun.		Priv.		Empl.		Unemp.		Ret.		HW.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
R1	14	45	20	65	25	56	9	53	11	52	6	46	7	44	10	83	34	55
R2	33		36		52		17		26		9		16		18		69	
R3	1.1		1.2		1.2		1.0		1.2		0.7		1.0		1.5		1.1	
R4	6	43	8	40	11	44	3	33	5	45	2	33	3	43	4	40	14	41
R5	9	64	7	35	11	44	5	56	9	82	4	67	2	29	1	10	16	47
Size	31		31		45		17		21		13		16		12		62	

Responses

R1 – Group A = those who went out

R2 – Total nights out for group A

R3 – Average no. nights out per capita subsample

R4 – No. out on Friday and % of group A

R5 – No. out on Saturday and % of group A

households may be attempting to preserve some sense of routinized variation by ensuring that one day at least is different in one respect. Interestingly, the majority of pensioners (69%) claimed that they had no one special meal; once again, we find that it is this group which demonstrates the lowest degree of routinized variation.

Most of those respondents who claimed to enjoy a special meal said that it was different either because it involved "nicer" or "fancier" food and/or because it was eaten with their relatives. For most it took place on Saturday or Sunday, although several of the unemployed ate it on Thursday ("giro day"). Significantly, the type of special food most of those in employed households mentioned was a roast or steak, whereas for the unemployed it was "a tin of pears", "an apple tart", "turkey or chicken roll". The only ones who mentioned having wine were employed private households; another respondent in this group told us that their Sunday tea is special because "ye have more time tae eat it".

Table 17 presents answers to the question "How many times did you go out in the evening in the last seven days? Where did you go?" The replies indicate that of the 55% who had been out, 56% (mainly men) had gone to a pub or club, and 21% - mainly women - to play bingo. 12% (all women) had been to a Rural Institute meeting or a church social evening; 12% to a dance, and 9% out for a meal. 15% had been to visit friends or relatives, although it must be remembered that this is an activity also occuring in the mornings and afternoon. Roughly equal proportions of men and women reported these last three activities.

Breaking down the overall total, we find somewhat surprisingly that a greater proportion of women seem to go out compared to men (and the difference is not accountable in terms of women going out to visit friends and relatives to a greater extent). Since this applies especially to housewives, it can perhaps be explained by the fact that, as we have seen, many women report having a highly structured routine; nights out may provide a sense of variation, some freedom from the normal constraints (even though they are not always seen in this way). There is relatively little difference between the proportions of employed, unemployed and retired individuals who went out at all, although, on average, the unemployed went out much less frequently. In terms of when people go out, it emerged that Friday and Saturday nights were most popular - Saturdays for men, and Fridays for women.

Annual and long-term routine.

As **Table 18** shows, several people gave answers to the question "Are there any weeks in the year that stand out?" which I have labelled "Yes and No". By this I mean those who, having said "no", then went on to say, for example, "Just the usual routine, except the odd holiday or family visit" or "No' really, except the national pigeon races week in July", or "Weatherwise, some weeks usually stand oot, but no' this year". I have taken this type of response to indicate that the experience of these individuals is predominantly an unbroken ongoing routine, though they can also, when asked, identify some special events or period. As with Table 16, it is important to look at the type of events and periods which prompt those in different groups to answer in the affirmative.

The majority of those in employed households who said certain weeks did stand out mentioned their summer holiday and Christmas and New Year, whereas only three of the unemployed said "the holidays" (and by this one person meant the time when her children would be off school, rather than a holiday away). Some of this latter group also mentioned Christmas and New Year, although as one man said "It's the hardest time of year", because they have no money to celebrate. Another unemployed respondent explained that she was looking forward to New Year because it meant "getting rid o' this year". Other unemployed respondents referred to changes in the weather, "The garden season" and "sad times o' year", such as the anniversary of a spouse's death. One of the pensioners also gave a similar response, though on the whole the special times identified by this group were again holidays and New Year.

In this way, it becomes apparent that although a more or less equal percentage of the employed and the unemployed group (52% and 53% respectively) clearly claimed to experience special times of the year, the characteristics that make a period extraordinary for the employed tend on the whole to be positive whereas they are often negative for the unemployed. They are positive on the whole for pensioners compared to other groups although again, a substantially smaller percentage of this group felt that a particular period stood out unequivocally each year as being different from most weeks.

Compared to employed households, there were substantially higher proportions of unemployed and retired households who were uncertain as to whether anything really did stand out (The "Yes and No" responses). This seemed due to the fact that several respondents in these two groups acknowledged the norm (whereby summer holidays and Christmas and New Year are supposed to constitute highlights in the year) but recognised their inability to act in accordance with the norm by celebrating and enjoying

Table 18: The experience of annual variation, by household (1985 questionnaire)

Response	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
R1	20	44	9	53	16	52	8	53	5	31	29	47
R2	8	18	1	6	2	6	3	20	4	25	9	14
R3	17	38	7	41	13	42	4	27	7	44	24	39
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

Responses

R1 – Some weeks stand out as different

R2 – "Yes and No"

R3 – No weeks stand out as different

Table 19: Times at which new clothes acquired, by household (1985 questionnaire) NB Overlapping responses.

Occasion	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Anytime	27	60	14	82	23	74	5	33	13	81	41	66
Monthly	1	2	1	6	1	3	1	7	0	0	2	3
Weekly	2	4	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	2	3
Holidays	8	18	2	12	7	23	3	20	0	0	10	16
Seasons	4	9	5	29	6	19	1	7	2	13	9	15
School term	3	7	0	0	1	3	2	13	0	0	3	5
Xmas	9	20	5	29	9	29	3	20	2	13	14	23
Birthday	5	11	0	0	3	10	1	7	1	6	5	8
Gala day	1	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	2
Special occasions (especially weddings)	7	16	2	12	4	13	2	13	3	19	9	15
When has money	2	4	0	0	0	0	2	13	0	0	2	3
Rarely	2	4	0	0	0	0	2	13	0	0	2	3
O13	72	1.6	31	1.8	59	1.9	23	1.5	21	1.3	103	1.7
Makes own clothes	1	2	2	12	2	6	1	7	0	0	3	5
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

Occasions

O13 –Total no. of occasions and average no. occasions per capita subsample

themselves in the way they would like to. No one claimed that every week of the year is different from the others, suggesting that those who had earlier claimed that every day of the week is different experience a repeated cycle of different days week-by-week through the year, and for many of them, this larger cycle is interrupted by annual breaks from routine.

As **Table 19** indicates, when asked "Do you (or your husband/wife) get new clothes for yourself or the children at any particular times of year?" most said that they acquired (mainly shop-bought) clothes at any time, although those in unemployed households had less freedom of choice due to their limited incomes. As Table 19 shows, the occasions which tend to be marked by the buying (or giving) of clothes are Christmas, followed by special events such as weddings, holidays and changes in the seasons. Very few people get new clothes every week or every month. In his analysis of the relationship between economic and cultural factors in Western society, Marshall Sahlins points out that clothes are symbols reproducing a "classificatory scheme" (1976: 181). This involves

> classes of time and place which index situations of activities; and . . . classes of status to which all persons are ascribed. . . We have evening clothes and day-time clothes, "little afternoon dresses" and night-time dress (pyjamas). Each references the nature of the activities ordered by those times, in the way that week-day apparel is to Sunday "best" as the secular is to the sacred. The marked seasonal variations are spring and fall, the colors of these seasons usually conceived to parallel the vegetation cycle. (ibid: 181-2).

Sahlins also goes on to describe the types of clothing which distinguish individuals belonging to different age-grades.

Villagers certainly distinguish between clothes for normal everyday use and those they wear when they are "dressed [up]", ready for a night out or a special occasion such as a wedding (for the latter suits are the norm for men, and fur jackets -at least in cold weather- for women). Our second questionnaire also revealed that, on the whole, men wear a watch more often than women, and, as we would expect, those with jobs wear one more often than those without. 29% of villagers questioned said they only ever put on their watch when going out somewhere special. As one woman said "On highdays and holidays I wear my watch". Observation suggests that men usually have clothes specifically for work, and since many have manual jobs, these are often old clothes and overalls. At weekends, employed men tend to wear newer "casual" clothes.

Table 19 suggests that only a minority of parents buy clothes specifically for their children to wear at school (most village children do not wear a school uniform, apart from a blazer at secondary school). My impression was, however, that the actual proportion of parents doing so was greater than that indicated by the table, and the same applies to the

purchasing of children's clothes specifically for Gala Day. The use of "club books" [mail order catalogues] by many villagers, especially women, reinforces the use of clothes in the symbolic marking of differences between the seasons, and between age-grades. New editions of catalogues appear twice a year containing the "Spring/Summer" collection and the "Autumn/Winter" range. Many use catalogues to acquire new clothes for their summer holidays and for Christmas. These catalogues invariably contain sections illustrating clothes specifically for babies, for toddlers, for school children and for teenagers (often for "younger-" and "older-teens"). In Cauldmoss, most teenagers were particularly concerned about their clothes, and wanted to appear in "something new" at each of the discos held in the community centre every three weeks. Those who could not afford to do so tended to wear two sets of clothes alternately.

When asked "When did you last redecorate your living-room? Do you normally do it at that time?" as **Table 20** suggests, the majority of respondents - mainly council tenants - said they had redecorated it within the last year. In fact, many council tenants mentioned that they do so every year, usually in December (so that the house is "clean" for Hogmanay, as tradition dictates). Others do it in the spring or summer, when the weather is better. Several said they do it regularly, although not as frequently as once a year - for example, every other year, or every three years. Only a minority seem to leave it for over five years before redecorating, though there was a marked distinction here between council tenants and owner-occupiers (2% and 36% respectively). Overall, the former seem to adopt shorter cycles for renewing their decorations, and within the sample as a whole, this is more true of unemployed and retired households than of households where one adult at least is in employment. While it is generally easier for the employed to afford the materials necessary, they have less time to spend doing this type of work. Very few mentioned paying someone else to do it for them. On the other hand, many of those who lose their jobs said that one of the first things they do with their increased free time is to "paper and paint the hoose", often using their redundancy money to buy the materials.

Asked "How long have you had your three-piece suite?" **Table 21** indicates that, as with decorations, private households seem to renew furniture less frequently than council tenants. Other questions revealed that far more owner-occupiers possessed cars, telephones, deep freezer and microwaves than did council tenants; it appears that owner-occupiers prefer to spend money on such items rather than on regularly improving the appearance of their living-room. This I would suggest, is due to the fact that those in this subgroup tend to lead more "privatized lifestyles"; their houses are more-or-less unique (ranging from new bungalows to converted cottages) and they spent most of their time when not at work in their own house.

Table 20: Length of time since living-room last decorated, by household (1985 questionnaire)

Time	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Less than 1 year	31	69	6	35	16	52	11	73	10	63	37	60
1 to 4 years	11	24	4	24	10	32	2	13	3	19	15	24
5 to 10 years	1	2	6	36	5	16	1	7	1	6	7	11
Not since moving	2	4	1	6	0	0	1	7	2	13	3	5
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

Table 21: Age of three-piece suite, by household (1985 questionnaire)

Age of suite	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
2 years or less	15	33	4	24	9	29	6	40	4	25	19	31
3-6 years	15	33	4	24	10	32	5	33	4	25	19	31
7-10 years	5	11	4	24	6	19	0	0	3	19	9	15
11+ years and ''old''	10	23	5	29	6	19	4	26	5	30	15	24
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

Many council tenants on the other hand (if not out at work) frequently visit one another's houses, any of which may be easily gauged against others, since all have the same basic layout. This tends to produce a higher level of conformity with the norm of ensuring one's living-room is clean and does not show signs of too much wear and tear. However, older inhabitants frequently condemn younger folk for renewing their furnishings "too often" implying that the latters' aspirations to higher status produce unneccessary spending. However, it must be borne in mind that many older folk in Cauldmoss possess items of furniture which were well made and have endured wear better than equivalent items bought more recently. The same is probably true of owner-occupiers who can afford furniture that is "made to last". Hence we find that almost half of both owner-occupier and retired subsamples have suites which are ten years old or more.

Financial routines, credit and projected expenditure.

The money budget survey (see below) produced information about the temporal patterns of financial income and outgoings among Cauldmoss households; this material is presented in Chapter Six. As part of the second questionnaire we asked "Do you make regular payments to anything, like a mortgage, insurance, a club, savings, anything else?", and the results are shown in **Table 22.** Some respondents were rather unwilling to answer some of these questions so the results presented are open to question to some extent. I attempted to clarify vague responses by cross checking them with details provided in a weekly expenditure sheet where one was completed.

The incidence of the various types of payments (which in themselves constitute part of ongoing routine expenditure) reveal the ways in which members of the different subsamples are able to orientate themselves in practical terms in the temporal dimension. Some of these types of payment involve a sense of movement over time, of present action aimed at the achievement of a goal. This is clear in the case of savings and endowment policy premiums.

With insurance policies, the goal is future security, as well as freedom from anxiety. Credit repayments (either to catalogues or hire purchase companies, 'though not usually to repay cash loans) involve both immediacy - in so far as one enjoys having the item in question in the present - and also a feeling of achievement in working toward paying off one's debt. However, the forward thinking that goes into trying to ensure one can make one's repayments is of a less positive kind than that involved in saving for a holiday or a new car. With the former, the goal in question tends to be freedom from a worrying

Table 22: Regular payments, by household (1985 questionnaire). NB: Excludes rent, rates and bills. Overlapping responses.

Type of Payment	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Credit repayments	22	49	8	47	20	65	6	40	4	25	30	48
Mortgage payments	0	0	5	29	5	16	0	0	0	0	5	8
House contents, fire insurance payments	22	49	10	59	19	61	5	33	8	50	32	52
Death/life insurance payments	21	47	10	59	17	55	6	40	8	50	31	50
Endowment policy payments	13	29	6	35	13	42	2	13	4	25	19	31
P6	7	16	9	53	12	39	1	7	3	19	16	26
Payments to savings	14	31	6	35	12	39	3	20	5	31	20	32
Total number of types of payments	99		54		98		23		32		153	
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	
Average no. types of payments per cap. subsample	2.2		3.2		3.2		1.5		2.0		2.5	
No payments at all	4	9	1	5	1	3	3	20	1	6	5	8
No form of insurance (excluding car)	6	13	1	5	1	3	4	27	2	13	7	11
No payments to savings/ endowment policies	19	42	8	47	12	39	7	47	8	50	27	43

Payments

P6 – Unspecified and miscellaneous insurance payments. Includes:

unspecified insurance (7 households); car insurance (5); personal pension (1); mortgage protection insurance (2); public liability (1)

commitment. The two types of payment also differ in that, in saving towards a goal one can usually adopt one's own timetable, whereas in credit repayments, this is imposed by one's creditors.

With all this in mind, we can use Table 22 to construct a profile of the temporal orientation of each subsample. First of all, however, we should note that only 8% of respondents claimed to be making none of the payments listed, and only 19% said they had no form of insurance (including those who made no payments at all), although over half of the sample were not currently paying into savings or for an endowment policy.

Straight away it is apparent that those with jobs (as in the majority of owner-occupier households) have more financial commitments than other groups, which suggests that they have the most developed sense of having a place in time. Unemployed households scored least in every payment category (with pensioners falling roughly mid-way between the unemployed and the employed), apart from on credit repayments, which were most scarce among retired households. In the case of mortgage repayments, none of the unemployed or retired households featured at all. In fact, only 29% of all owner-occupiers said they were still paying a mortgage, many couples having moved to Cauldmoss simply in order to buy a cheap house quickly. While two-thirds of employed households had the responsibility of current credit agreements (other than mortgages) 94% of them enjoyed the peace of mind of having various forms of insurance, and the majority had the added security of savings and/or endowment policies (58%).

Among the unemployed households, only 40% said that they were currently making credit repayments and although 53% seemed to have some form of insurance (other than endowment and car policies), only one third had endowment policies or savings. This suggests that many of those in such households lack the ability not only to obtain items now (the unemployed often complain that many companies will not give them hire purchase), they are also without the sense of achievement involved in repaying debts or saving for the future.

Among retired households, only a quarter were paying for goods obtained on credit, though 81% of them had insurance of one type or another (apart from endowment or car), and 44% were currently contributing to their savings on a regular basis, or paying for an endowment policy. In financial matters if not in other areas of life, the emphasis among the old folk in our sample appeared to be on the future rather than on the past (in terms of being bound by earlier agreements). In line with their common belief that one should take life as it comes (and perhaps because they have learnt from past mistakes?), they are often

unwilling to enter into commitments which circumstances might prevent them from fulfilling later on, though some level of commitment is necessary if one is to be prepared (as most were) for future possibilities. Since one does not know "whit's roond the corner", it pays to have some measure of security.

The last question, together with another one ("Do you think it's a good idea to buy things on credit?") reveal clear differences between subsamples in their members' attitudes and behaviour in regard to credit - see **Tables 23 and 24**. While 82% of those in retired households disapproved of it, the majority of those in employed and unemployed households either approved of it, were neutral about it, or saw it as a necessity, and this is reflected in their behaviour. That the employed are the group most in favour of credit is probably due to the fact that they find it easier than the other groups to fulfil such commitments once made. Women were on the whole much less critical of credit than men, which probably reflects the fact that it is women who tend to be in charge of expenditure in the household.

While on the topic of who controls household finances, I will briefly summarise the responses we got to the question "Does your husband /wife give you or Do you give your husband/wife a certain amount [of household money] every week, for example, or as you / s/he needsit?" In fact, 71% of the men who said they were in charge of household finances gave their wives a regular (usually weekly) amount of housekeeping money, although only 38% of the women in charge claimed to give their husbands regular pocket money. Only 8% of the women (and none of the men) said they give their spouse money on a sporadic basis, and it seems that the remainder of the sample give their spouse cash "as it's needed". Bearing in mind the points I make in Chapter Six about the relatively fixed pattern of weekly expenditure found in many Cauldmoss households, this suggests that there is quite a large measure of regularity involved.

Table 25 contains responses to the question "What would you like more money for at the moment?", answers which (together with those in Table 26) give an idea of the types of goals, both short- and long-term, that villagers have. Council tenants seemed mainly concerned with essential items (fuel and furnishings [44%], clothes [18%] and food [13%]), while owner-occupiers mentioned wanting money for a car (29% - probably a newer, or a second, car) rather than for food and clothes (0% in both cases). This difference reflects the higher proportion of unemployed households among the council house subsample, and in fact, two-thirds of the unemployed said they wanted money for fuel and furnishings, and a third for clothes. 20% of them wanted money for Christmas - a much higher figure than that found in the employed or retired groups. The responses of the retired were

Table 23: Attitudes towards using credit, by household (1985 questionnaire)

Attitude	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
A1	8	18	7	41	3	10	4	27	8	50	15	24
A2	3	7	1	6	2	6	0	0	2	13	4	6
A3	9	20	2	12	5	16	3	20	3	19	11	18
A4	8	18	3	18	8	26	2	13	1	6	11	18
A5	4	9	0	0	1	3	1	7	2	13	4	6
A6	6	13	0	0	4	13	2	13	0	0	6	10
A7	7	16	4	24	8	26	3	20	0	0	11	18
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

Attitudes

A1 – Disapproves in general

A2 – Sees it as morally wrong

A3 – Sees it as financially unwise

A4 – Ideally to be avoided but necessary

A5 – Sees it as a necessity

A6 – Is neutral on it

A7 – Approves

Table 24: Behaviour in using credit, by household. (1983 questionnaire and money budget)

Behaviour	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Do/have use(d) credit	24	53	9	53	19	61	10	67	4	25	33	53
Do/have not use(d) credit	21	47	8	47	12	39	5	33	12	75	29	47
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

Table 25: Projected items of expenditure if had more money at the moment, household (1985 questionnaire) NB. Overlapping responses

Items	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Household furnishings/fuel	20	44	4	24	10	32	10	67	4	25	24	39
Holiday	7	16	2	12	5	16	1	7	3	19	9	15
Car	4	9	5	29	7	23	1	7	1	6	9	15
Clothes	8	18	0	0	2	6	5	33	1	6	8	13
Food	6	13	0	0	1	3	3	20	2	13	6	10
Christmas	5	11	0	0	2	6	3	20	0	0	5	8
Buying a house	2	4	2	12	4	12	0	0	0	0	4	6
Save for something	3	7	1	6	3	10	1	7	0	0	4	6
Going out	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	1	2
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

Table 26: Projected items of expenditure if won pools, by household (1985 questionnaire) NB. Overlapping responses

Items	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Buy a house	12	27	4	24	10	32	5	33	1	6	16	26
Give money to family	11	24	1	6	3	10	2	13	7	44	12	19
Have same way of life/ don't want a lot of money	11	24	1	6	2	6	3	20	7	44	12	19
Holiday	6	13	4	24	7	22	3	20	0	0	10	16
Give up job	2	4	3	18	5	16	0	0	0	0	5	8
Household furnishings /fuel	3	7	1	6	2	6	2	13	0	0	4	6
Save for something	2	4	1	6	3	10	0	0	0	0	3	5
Get a business	1	2	2	12	0	0	3	20	0	0	3	5
Move/emigrate	2	4	1	6	1	3	2	13	0	0	3	5
Drink	2	4	0	0	0	0	2	13	0	0	2	3
Going out	1	2	1	6	1	3	1	7	0	0	2	3
Car	1	2	1	6	1	3	1	7	0	0	2	3
Have a good time	1	2	1	6	0	0	1	7	1	6	2	3
Give money to others (not family)	2	2	0	0	2	7	0	0	0	0	2	3
Clothes	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	1	2
To be secure	1	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	2
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

similar to those in employed households, except that less of the former wanted money for a car, and more wanted it for food.

Going on to ask "What if you won the pools?" produced the responses listed in **Table 26.** Only 4% of council tenants had said they desired more money in order to buy a house, and when faced with the prospect of a very large sum of money, only a quarter said they would use it to purchase one, responses which suggest that this is not a goal to which most tenants think of aspiring. Interestingly, a quarter of this subsample said they did not **want** to win the pools, or if they did, they would not change their way of life (compared to only 6% of owner-occupiers). The attachment of those on the scheme to traditional norms and values is also reflected in the small number who said that they would give up their job (4%) and/or start a business of their own (2%). The corresponding figures among the more enterprising private householders were 18% and 12%.

In terms of respondents' employment status, the wish to retain one's normal lifestyle and/or to give the money away was particlarly marked amongst the retired (44% response rate for both categories of response). In fact, they appeared to have little desire to do anything **other** than that with their win. Some of the unemployed wanted to buy a house (33%) and start a business (20%), but several did not want a new lifestyle (20%). More among this group than among any other wanted to move to a new area (13%), and/or to use the money for drink (13%). The employed would also buy a house (32%), and several wanted a holiday (22%). Some of them would give up work (16%). Only this subsample demonstrated any desire to save the money (10%).

Attitudes towards the future.

When asking respondents whether they felt that their life goes on the same from day to day, or whether there were any days of the week, and then weeks of the year, that stood out as being different, we began, in our early questionnaires, by including a prompt to be used if necessary: "Is there anything you look forward to or worry about?" (Although we did not specify "worry about **in the future**", the wording and position of the question led many respondents to talk of anticipated events and periods.) Realising that this prompt was producing some interesting comments, we decided to turn it into a full question, to be asked of all respondents. This change in procedure meant that regrettably a small number of individuals slipped through the net, and in **Table 27** these are the six labelled as "No reply". Of course it is by no means always the case that an individual necessarily "looks forward to" the events s/he described as "standing out", which is another reason why we

changed this prompt into a seperate question.

Both the concepts of "looking forward to" and "worrying about" are somewhat nebulous, and as with the question about weeks standing out, several respondents gave answers difficult to categorise. Some claimed they "dinnae' really" look forward to anything, but then listed for example, "a holiday . . . the pools coming up", or "just Christmas". One man said "Ah've nothin' tae worry me, except ma wife getting better", while in regard to both parts of the question one elderly woman would only say cryptically: "When ye're no longer fit, naebody wants ye aroond", which I took to mean that she has little to look forward to and much to worry about. Again with this question it is important to consider exactly what it is different types of respondents actually look forward to and/or worry about. Some may think about things happening in the near future, others about far-off events; some told us about actual forthcoming activities, and others about their fantasies and

Table 27: Attitudes towards the future, by household (1985 questionnaire)

Attitude	Council		Private		Employed		Unemployed		Retired		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
A1	3	7	1	6	2	6	2	13	0	0	4	6
A2	11	24	5	29	9	29	4	27	3	19	16	26
A3	10	22	2	12	4	13	4	27	4	25	12	19
A4	17	38	7	41	12	39	3	20	9	56	24	39
A5	4	9	2	12	4	13	2	13	0	0	6	10
Sample size	45		17		31		15		16		62	

Attitudes

A1 – Both look forward to and worry about the future

A2 – Look forward only

A3 – Worry only

A4 – Neither look forward nor worry

A5 – No reply

fears. Eight respondents (this time some of them owner-occupiers) said that they "take things as they come" or "just live from day to day", and I have included these in the category of those who "neither worry nor look forward".

With all this in mind, we can perhaps use Table 27 to verify the profiles of each subsample which are suggested by Table 22. Overall it appears that more than half the sample do feel some sense of orientation towards the future with slightly more emphasis on its positive, rather than negative aspects. Amongst those in employed households, approximately half of whom are future orientated in my terms here, the emphasis is clearly on looking forward to, rather than worrying about it. This is what one would expect, having ascertained that in general their situation is one of financial security and a relatively large amount of freedom of choice, thanks to the fact that they may have some sort of savings. Among those in employed households who said they had something to look forward to, (11 individuals) the most popular events were holidays and Christmas, with smaller numbers mentioning children's birthdays, nights out and visiting friends and relatives. More informants in this subsample than in any other talked about looking forward to "getting the pools up", which reflects the fact that more people (mainly men) in this group can afford to do the football pools than in the other groups.

In general therefore, it appears that those in employed households look forward mainly to actual events, some of them in the distant future, though they are also able to participate in schemes which give them the opportunity to win large amounts of money, and thus allow them to fantasise about possible futures. The issue of the time scales involved in different forms of gambling in Cauldmoss would be an interesting one to explore had I sufficient space. In general, it it my impression that it tends to be employed owner-occupier households who take part in schemes usually involving long or indefinite spans of time, such as premium bonds, while council tenants prefer shorter periods of suspense. Those doing the pools, or a sweepstake, are prepared to wait around a week to know the outcome, but for many, the pay-off (or not) comes within a matter of hours and sometimes within minutes, since the dominant forms of gambling for them are betting on the horses and bingo. I sometimes overhead informants on the scheme say that they would not bother doing a competition in a magazine or on a food package because the winning entry was not due to be drawn for six or nine months: "Whit's the point? Ah'll o' forgotten a' aboot it by then!"

Of the six employed people who worried, most were concerned about money, (about staying in work and having money for bills); some mentioned worrying about the long-term future : the well-being of a disabled daughter in years to come; of that of a young son in the face of

rising unemployment. One woman said she feared someone breaking into her house. (I was in fact surprised that more people, especially owner-occupiers, did not mention this, since it is clearly an issue to which many give attention; Wight and I were often greeted with some suspicion on our initial visit to such households, and often also met by ferocious guard dogs.)

Looking at the responses of those in unemployed households in Table 27, it seems that a substantially higher proportion of them are orientated toward the future ('though mainly in terms of worrying about it) than are those in either the employed or the retired subgroups. The difference between the unemployed and the employed in terms of looking forward to events is slight (40% as compared to 35%, taking into account those who **both** worry and look forward to), and it emerges that proportionally far fewer of the unemployed look forward to holidays. Most look forward to Christmas, although one also said that it is a hard time for them. One mentioned birthdays, one visiting friends, and one playing badminton. None of the unemployed talked about winning the pools in response to this question. On the whole, therefore, it tends to be everyday pleasures which concern the members of this group.

A far greater proportion of those in unemployed households worry about the future (altogether 40%) than among employed or retired households (19% and 25% respectively). Predictable, they worry most about money. Two unemployed men specified worrying about money in the long term; one was seriously ill and the other an owner-occupier with a mortgage. One young father said "Ah worry aboot thae bills, aboot nae job, aboot nae money, aboot the wain [child]". Others mentioned their children's future, their own health, and "yobos" bothering them. That so many of those in unemployed households worry about their finances explains why more of them do not enter into credit agreements. Their relative lack of reference to holidays is due to the small number who have savings to finance trips away, and is also due to the fact that those who are not working do not see themselves as deserving a break.

Less than half of the pensioners questioned seemed to be future-orientated and (like those in unemployed households) most of these worry about, rather than look forward to, the future (25% and 19% respectively). One pensioner looked forward to holidays, another to visits from her family, and a third to "the football coupon at the weekend". Those who worry mentioned their grandchildren's future, money, health and being unwanted. 56% (more than in any other subgroup) claimed neither to worry, nor to look forward, which is perhaps what one would expect in a group whose members have few debts, and a fairly large measure of security in the form of insurance and/or savings.

The amount and use of free time.

The results of the questions "Do you think you have enough free time? Why/ why not" and "Could you tell me what sort of things you do in your free time? (Prompt: Do you belong to any clubs or organisations? What about sports and other outdoor activities?)" were described in Chapter Six. **Table 28** (overleaf) provides a full picture of responses to the first question, while **Table 29** lists all the free time activities mentioned. **Table 30** shows the thirteen most popular activities (all those mentioned by five or more respondents), and the percentage of the different subsamples who reported doing each activity.

Table 29 - Free Time Activities in Cauldmoss

Activity	Number of questionnaire respondents reporting activity. (62 individuals)		
Watching TV	15	Badminton	4
Listening to Radio	1	Football	1
Reading	11	Keep Fit	1
Doing Crosswords	4	Bowls	6
Knitting	12	Unspecified Sports	5
Sewing	3	Helping at Community Centre	1
Embroidery	1	Helping Old Folks Association	2
Baking	2	Helping at Playgroup	1
DIY	7	Church Scouts	3
Gardening	12	Womens Rural Institute	4
Keeping Birds	2	Freemasons / Eastern Star	7
Caring	4	Orange Lodge	1
Visiting	11	Social Club	3
Seeing Friends	2	Bingo/Gambling	8
Out in Car	1	Drinking	4
Walking	13	Eating Out	1
Fishing	5	Theatre/Concerts	3
Shooting	2	Shopping	6
Swimming	3	Working as agent for mail order catalogue	1
		Total number of activities specified:	38
		Total number of responses:	173

able 28: Attitudes towards amount of free-time, by individual (1985 question-
aire)

Attitude	Men		Women		Coun.		Priv.		Empl.		Unemp.		Ret.		HW.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Has too much free-time	16	52	10	32	20	44	6	35	0	0	9	69	12	75	5	42	26	42
Has enough free-time	9	29	16	52	19	42	6	35	13	62	4	31	3	19	5	42	25	40
Does not have enough free-time	6	19	5	16	6	13	5	29	8	38	0	0	1	6	2	17	11	18
Sample size	31		31		45		17		21		13		16		12		62	

le 30: Most popular free-time activities, by individual (1985 questionnaire)
Overlapping responses. "No" = Number in subsample referring to activity.
= Percentage of subsample referring to activity

.	Men		Women		Coun.		Priv.		Empl.		Unemp.		Ret.		HW.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
	7	23	8	26	10	22	5	29	3	14	4	31	5	31	3	25	15	24
	8	26	5	16	9	20	4	24	3	14	4	31	3	19	3	25	13	21
	9	29	3	10	7	16	5	29	6	29	3	23	3	19	0	0	12	19
	0	0	12	39	9	20	3	18	4	19	0	0	3	19	5	42	12	19
	6	19	5	16	7	16	4	24	2	10	3	23	4	25	2	17	11	18
	4	13	7	23	10	22	1	6	2	10	1	8	3	19	5	42	11	18
	3	10	5	16	7	16	1	6	4	19	0	0	3	19	1	8	8	13
	4	13	3	10	6	13	1	6	2	10	2	15	1	6	2	17	7	11
	4	13	3	10	1	2	6	35	5	24	1	8	1	6	0	0	7	11
	6	19	0	0	4	9	2	12	2	10	1	8	3	19	0	0	6	10
	2	6	4	13	6	13	0	0	2	10	1	8	2	13	1	8	6	10
	5	16	0	0	3	7	2	12	3	14	2	15	0	0	0	0	5	8
	3	10	2	6	2	4	3	18	4	19	1	8	0	0	0	0	5	8
ze	31		31		45		17		21		13		16		12		62	
	61		57		81		37		42		23		31		22		118	
	2.0		1.8		1.8		2.2		2.0		1.8		1.9		1.8		1.9	

Activity

A1 – Watching T.V.
A2 – Walking
A3 – Gardening
A4 – Knitting
A5 – Reading
A6 – Visiting
A7 – Gambling/bingo
A8 – Freemasons/ Eastern Star
A9 – D.I.Y.
A10 – Playing bowls
A11 – Shopping
A12 – Fishing
A13 – Unspecified sport
A15 – Total no. of activities
A16 – Average no. activities per capita subsample

The importance of breaks in routine.

It appears therefore that the extent to which variation in routine is recognised differs between individuals, and seems to depend on changes either in the nature or in the timing of activities and events, usually on both. For example, many respondents said that Christmas and New Year stand out as different from the other weeks in the year, and many claimed to look forward to this period. Within the year these are events that have a fixed location, and within the festive season itself, events follow a set sequence - the opening of presents, then a big meal on Christmas day, for example; ritualised exchange of greetings at midnight on January 1st, followed by drinking and merry-making through the early hours, with a special dinner later in the day.

What makes this period different is the fact that activities (many of them occurring all through the year) take place at, or last for, an unusual time. One does not normally go visiting at 1 am, or sleep in front of the television all afternoon on a weekday (at least not if one has a job, or a house to run). As one man put it, referring to the amount of visiting, eating, drinking and sleeping that occurs at this time "It's great over Christmas and New Year - just like one long Sunday!" As this quote implies, some people (mainly those with jobs) experience this type - if not this level - of variation on a weekly as well as an annual basis. For others, however, it may be not so much alterations in activity and/or timing that causes particular periods to stand out, as a change of mood when a specific time of year produces especially happy or sad memories. Some elderly people, for example, while their Christmas and New Year are now very quiet and involve little deviation from the normal routine (especially if they have no family nearby), still think of it as a special time of year. While they may spend Hogmanay watching television as they do every evening, at least "there's usually a guid film oan. . . a bit better than usual onyway". This type of approach is also found among those who are obliged to go to work during the festive season.

Only a quarter of our respondents said that every day is the same, that no weeks stand out as different and that they had nothing (or "nothing really") to look forward to. Among those in employment, there were only two who fell into this category, both women with part-time jobs, and with families to look after at home. One told us that her life is "Jist the same thing everyday, the same routine", while the other said "It's just a' the same! I've got quite a boring existence . . . a dull life" (When asked if she had been out on any of the last seven evenings, she replied "No - Ah could say in the last seven **months**!" Later, however, she mentioned having been to a "ladies night" at the Bowling Club two weeks previously - an event which for her did not seem to constitute a break from routine).

Hearing these comments, it is not surprising to find that one in four of the housewives questioned had similar feelings. One said simply "Everyday's the same", and that all she looks forward to is the chance of "gettin' the pools up". Another said "It's humdrum . . . there's no' a lot tae look forward tae", though she mentioned that things will change when her husband retires in five years time. The third housewife, who is married to a farmer, declared "It's just the same, day in, day out, week in, week out". She explained that until her son is old enough to be left in charge of the farm, she and her husband cannot go out at weekends. Asked if she looks forward to anything, she said "No' really . . . just Christmas". Chatting at the end of the questions, however, she revealed that she and her husband also go shopping to the local town on Thursdays and to a large market on Saturdays, and that Friday is an especially busy day on the farm. Once again, these are not activities or periods seen as sufficiently different to warrant being described as such.

Nearly a third of the pensioners questioned claimed to experience little or no variety in their lives. One elderly spinster said of her daily life "It's jist the same to me . . . Ah'm never oot at a'- except tae ma sister's" (she lived next door). Asked if Christmas stood out (not a usual prompt) she replied: "Ah dinnae' bother. We ha' dinners an' that in the hoose, but dinnae' go oot anywhere". Another pensioner (this time with a husband and son at home) when asked if any period stands out told me: "No, it's just the usual routine . . . a very humdrum life", apart, she said, from "the odd holiday" or "family visits".

Of the male pensioners questioned, one (a married man) declared "everyday's practically the same". Another (this time single) said his days, even the weekends, are all "Jist the very same, pal. A daily routine . . . if ye've money, ye go fer a drink. If not, ye sit in the hoose . . . When ye were workin' it wis different . . . ye were always oot then". All he looks forward to is trying to "get a fortune . . . the coupons at the weekend". The third man, again living on his own, said that every single day, "Ye get up in the mornin', make a cup o' tea, away doon get the paper . . . " Since his wife died, no time of year seems to stand out, and now the only place he goes out in the evenings is "just aboot the park with the dog".

It was amongst the unemployed, however, that we found the highest proportion reporting no real variety in their lives (38%). Two of these were men with families; one said his life "jist goes on the same from day to day . . . unless I could win the pools!" When asked if weekends are different in any way his wife interrupted: "No, just the same . . . ye just **exist**, rather than livin'". He said that on an annual basis the only thing that stands out is the start of the garden season. Later, he told me that they each go to play bingo once a week, he on Monday evening, she on Tuesday; "It's the highlight of the week!" his wife

said, though even this did not appear to affect her overall impression that their lives were uniformly dull. Another unemployed man, an owner-occupier, whose wife had a full-time job, said that apart from going to rehearsal sessions of the Gilbert and Sullivan Society in the local town every Monday evening, "Ah'm at home every day", and that weekends "are different fer my wife because she's workin', but not fer me". He went on: "Ah don't look forward to things . . . Ah don't build up to a peak".

A single man on invalidity benefit who lived with his elderly mother and unemployed brother told me all days, even weekends, and all weeks are "much the same". His brother interjected: "Ye've nae money tae dae onythin'", and the man agreed: "No. Ah'm never oot". A young unemployed man, whose wife had left him, taking their three children with her, said "Bein' in the village, all the days are mair or less the same. Routine every day, ken . . . but likes o' [the local town] ye notice the difference". By this, he explained, he meant that, for example, variation in the shops' opening hours (with Thursday, and in some shops Friday and Saturday, being late-night shopping) makes days seem different. For him, weekends are the same as weekdays:"Ah don't go oot at the weekend, except sometimes to ma mither-in-law's". Asked if he looked forward to anything, he said "Ah used tae look forward to goin' oot tae see the kids. But that's stopped noo . . . tae much complications".

Finally, an older single unemployed man described his days as following "the same maudlin' monotonous day-to-day routine". Even "bru day" does not stand out he said, because "By the time ye pay yer debts, ye're back tae square one". He might, very occasionally go for a drink during the day on a Friday, he said, "if Ah land doon the street tae get the paper". But he does not go out in the evening, when if "ye get landed in company" you cannot get away without spending "a fortune. Ye need £10 to go into a pub in Cauldmoss . . . " We saw that some of the unemployed do, in fact, go out drinking in the evenings, though this response is more typical. A villager (the subject of the case-study in Appendix One) once pointed out to me that if I were to go into any of the pubs in the afternoon and again in the evening, I would find a totally different set of people in there on each occasion. The unemployed cannot afford to drink with those who work; it pains them to see men being able to "spend money like water" and to be continually offered drinks with no possibility of repaying them.

The time and money budget surveys.

Problems in data collection and analysis.

Of the 62 people who were asked to compile budget sheets, 35 (or 57%) returned one or both types of completed sheet (on the use of time and/or on the use of money). In addition, six people (spouses or adult children of those questioned) volunteered to complete time forms. In total, from the 32 respondents who agreed to supply time sheets (plus the six extras who volunteered), we gathered 74 separate daily diaries. Of the 24 individuals compiling money budgets, only five were unwilling to note down their income, and detailed their expenditure alone.

Our success in analysing the budgets largely depended, of course, on the nature of the information provided by respondents. Because only six people persuaded their spouses to complete forms, we could use the survey to investigate the division of labour within households in Cauldmoss only to a very limited extent. One male respondent tried to compromise by including some of his own activities and some of his wife's on one sheet. In another case, we were presented with six completed time sheets by one couple - three from the husband and three from the wife. But closer examination revealed that the wife seemed to have filled in all six sheets.

We had hoped to check sheets through and clarify such issues when we collected the sheets from respondents. However, in practice, this often proved difficult to do; frequently respondents handed the sheets over folded up and seemed to be glad to be getting rid of them. It was clear that a post-mortem would not be welcomed. This was not simply because of the respondent's embarrassment at having to discuss the contents of the sheets but also because, having spent time filling in the sheets, many respondents seemed bored by them and preferred to talk about something else. In a small number of cases, respondents who refused to take the sheets themselves were persuaded to let us fill in the forms for them, while they tried to recall how they had spent their time the day before, and/or what they had spent money on that week. This was a far from ideal means of collecting such information. The details were usually very sketchy, and there was the problem referred to above of the individual's reluctance to say "out loud" how s/he spends time and money. This method of collection did, however, allow us more opportunity for clarification of details.

SURVEY OF EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES --- INSTRUCTION SHEET.

nk you for agreeing to complete the diary sheet.

information you give us is in confidence, so please feel free to give as many details you can (although even a very rough outline of what you did is useful). On page 3 re is an example of the first part of a completed diary sheet to give you an idea of the t of thing we are asking you to do. (You do not have to put this much detail on your et if you do not wish to.)

h one of the empty diary sheets you have been given is to cover a seperate day. You have n given a number of sheets; please try to fill in as many of them as you can, starting ew sheet each day. Even if you only do one day's diary, it is helpful. If any of your ends or relatives are willing to take any sheets to fill in, please give them some of rs, or ask for some more when one of us calls back at your house.

best way to fill in a sheet is at regular intervals during the day. But if this is not venient, then you could wait until the end of the day to fill it in. One of us will l again at your house after a couple of days to see if you have any queries about compl- ng the diary.

may not be clear exactly what is meant by some of the headings on the diary sheet, so will explain them here:

umn (1) WHAT WAS THE MAIN THING YOU WERE DOING DURING THIS TIME?

If you were doing several things at once you should decide which you think was the most important and write it in this column against the time you did it. For example, if at 6p.m. you were eating your dinner and watching the news on TV, you may feel eating dinner was the main activity, so you would enter that in this column (on the line marked 6p.m. on the left hand side of the page). Watching the TV news would then come under Column (3) 'Were you doing anything else at the same time?'. If, say, you were knitting and watching TV, you may feel both these activities were equally important, so you would write both activities in Column(1) and leave Column (3) blank.
If you did the same thing for more than an hour (e.g. sleeping) put an arrow down through Column(1) to show the time it took, rather than writing the activity in against every hour marked on the sheet.
The last page of these instructions gives a list of possible activities that may help you to remember the kinds of things you do during the day. You do not have to use these; in fact it would be better to use your own words to describe what you were doing.

umn (2) ROUGHLY HOW LONG DID YOU SPEND DOING THIS ACTIVITY?

Don't worry if you can't remember exactly how long you did the activity [which you have stated in Column (1)] for; a rough guess will do. If you can't remember at all, just leave Column (2) blank.

umn (3) WERE YOU DOING ANYTHING ELSE AT THE SAME TIME?

Please see explanation for Column (1).

umn (4) WHERE WERE YOU?

This is asking you to say roughly where you were while you were doing the activity you've entered in Column (1). For example, were you in the kitchen at home, or on the factory floor or in the office at work? If you were in someone else's house, you don't have to give their actual name if you don't want to; it is more helpful if you state who they are in relation to you - a friend, your sister, your husband, a neighbour, for instance.

Column (5) WAS ANYONE ELSE WITH YOU?

This means if you have entered, for example, "At work-erecting scaffolding" Column (1) and this is something you did together with a workmate, you would something like "With workmate" in Column (5). This question is not asking y to list all the people on the site at the time or, for example, all the peop the bus or in the pub at the time you were there.

Column (6) WAS IT NECESSARY TO DO IT AT THIS TIME?

Opposite the activity you have put in Column (1) put a tick in the 'YES' col if this activity is something you had to do at the time you did it-either beca you had arranged it in advance, or because you had to do it to fit in with wha other people were doing. Or tick 'YES' if you usually do this activity at t time stated as part of your normal routine, or if you couldn't do it at anoth time because you had other things to do later.

Put a tick in the 'NO' column if you felt you could do the activity you have entered in Column (1) at another time without any trouble. If it did not matte whether you did it at that time or at some other time, tick 'NO'.

If you are not sure how to answer this question just leave both columns blank.

Finally, please remember that it is not absolutely necessary to fill in every single l the diary sheet - give as little or as much information as you wish.

YOUR HELP WOULD BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.

LIST OF POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES.

TRAVEL:	All the trips you make, both at home and at work, by vehicle or on foot (except pleasure trips).
WORK:	Actual work; overtime; work brought home; work breaks; meals at work; delays or sitting around at work; work meetings or instruction periods, etc.
HOUSEWORK:	Preparing food; washing-up; tidying and cleaning house (inside and outside); laundry and mending; other household repairs; looking after garden and pets, etc.
CHILD CARE:	Dressing and feeding; supervising; babysitting; playing with; reading to; helping with homework, etc.
SHOPPING:	For food, clothes, household goods and furniture; going to repair shops; using services(e.g.administrative offices, post office, hairdresser, doctor, etc.)
PERSONAL LIFE:	Sleeping and resting; dressing; personal hygiene; eating at home; helping relatives or friends, etc.
EDUCATION:	Attending school or college; night classes; homework; training and correspondence courses; reading to learn or for your job; driving lessons etc.
ORGANISATIONS:	Club meetings or activity; volunteer work; going to church services and other church work; political meetings; Community Centre, etc.
GOING OUT & ENTERTAINMENT:	Visiting, or receiving visits from, friends or relatives; eating out at friends' or restaurant; going to cafes, pubs, nightclubs, discos, parties, dances, fairs, concerts, cinemas, plays, museums; watching sports events, etc.
LEISURE:	Doing sports or exercise; walking; pleasure trips; fishing; playing cards or games; hobbies; knitting; playing music; arts and crafts, etc.
	Watching TV and video; listening to radio and records; reading books, magazines and newspapers for pleasure; writing letters; conversation; planning, thinking or relaxing, etc.

CONFIDENTIAL

EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES DIARY

DAY: _____

DATE: _____

(1) WHAT WAS THE MAIN THING YOU WERE DOING DURING THIS TIME?	(2) ROUGHLY HOW LONG DID YOU SPEND DOING THIS ACTIVITY?	(3) WERE YOU DOING ANYTHING ELSE AT THE SAME TIME?	(4) WHERE WERE YOU?	(5) WAS ANYONE ELSE WITH YOU?	(6) WAS IT NECESSARY TO DO IT AT THIS TIME? YES	NO

TIME	(1) MAIN ACTIVITY?	(2) HOW LONG FOR?	(3) OTHER ACTIVITY AT SAME TIME?	(4) WHERE WERE YOU?	(5) ANYONE WITH YOU?
Noon					
1pm					
2pm					
3pm					
4pm					
5pm					
6pm					
7pm					
8pm					
9pm					
10pm					
11pm					
Mid-					

MONEY BUDGET FORM

FIDENTIAL SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLD SPENDING. Week from:

Please give as much detail as you want on the spending of the whole household. Leave sections blank if you wish, though the more detail there is the better. Even rough estimates are of use.

TOTAL FOR WEEK

	amount	description	is this typica
ING COSTS e.g.rent,mortgage, s,decorating,repairs.			
NG AND LIGHTING COSTS e.g.coal, y in electric meter,peat.			
& DRINK (not alcohol) including ol meals,eating out,snacks,milk ,ice creams.			
OL:in pubs or clubs (including soft drinks,crisps,nuts etc.)			
:at home			
CO			
ING & SHOES including catalogue ments.			
HOUSEHOLD GOODS e.g.T.V.,bed es,furniture,records,H.P.payment ese(but not on car).			
GOODS e.g.cleaning/toilet s,garden,prescription,newspaper lry,pets and pet food. ncluding maintenance,garage ,petrol,H.P.on vehicle.			
TRAIN FARES			
ES & ENTERTAINMENT OUT e.g.ci- dentist,hairdresser,driving , postal costs,T.V.licence.			
LLANEOUS e.g.children's pocket ,interest on loans,savings, ,betting payments (less ngs),charity donations,loans to s,insurance,N.I.payments,income ingo books.			
NOT BOUGHT e.g.wood or coal cted yourself,vegetables grown ven you,presents of furniture, es etc.,other things that come way.	quantity		

(if applicable) last electric bill period covered

last phone bill period covered

TOTAL INCOME FOR HOUSEHOLD FOR WEEK:

401a OR: TOTAL INCOME FOR HOUSEHOLD FOR MONTH:

There were two main problems involved in making sense and use of the budget data:

1) The first was that the small sample size, and the fact that these were **volunteered** responses, means there must be doubt as to how representative our findings were. Any attempt to subdivide the sample into its constituent groups exacerbates this problem (see below). The range of different sorts of data we have gathered about particular families over the course of lengthy fieldwork has sometimes led us to question what a respondent stated on her/his form (although for the purpose of analysing the budgets, we had to accept their statement, unless the form was internally inconsistent - see below). We questioned some statements, not usually in the sense of doubting their truth, but rather in terms of how representative that particular day's activity, or that particular week's spending (as reported on the sheets) really was for that individual. (Even restricting ourselves to the material we collected through the questionnaire and the budgets, we found discrepancies such as the person who declared, in reply to one section of the questionnaire, that she **always** gets up at eight o'clock, but then recorded getting up at nine on her time sheet).

2) The second difficulty was the lack of clarity in some people's time and money sheets, and the variability between individuals in the way in which they had completed the forms. Some respondents were more careful than others about filling them in. A few did it conscientiously at points throughout the day or week; at the other extreme, others would start doing a sheet then abandon it for a week or more, and then try to recall the information. Some people only finally completed sheets after several visits from us, on each of which they promised to have them done before the next visit. All in all, it proved to be a very time-consuming piece of research.

Understandably, when filling in the time sheets, many respondents used convenient periods of time such as "half an hour" or "five minutes" when stating how long something took, when it is likely, in fact, that activities rarely took such neat periods of time. A small number of respondents tried to make sure that the amounts of time they specified on the diary sheet did actually add up to 24 hours altogether, but the majority did not. One of the most interesting aspects of the time budget study was the varying amounts of time for which different people actually accounted on their sheets - some left great gaps, writing in activities here and there through the day with nothing in between. Others completely filled the page; one woman (a single parent) gave us so **many** details that her day took up three daily sheets. In our analysis we had to ask ourselves the reason why an individual might leave gaps - was it because, at the end of

the day, s/he looked back and felt that s/he had done very little worth noting? Was it because s/he simply could not remember what s/he had been doing? Or was it simply due to the fact that s/he could not be bothered to fill in the sheet in any detail? If we assume that such blanks reflect periods when a respondent felt s/he was "doing nothing", they tell us a great deal about her/his experience.

If the sheet was relatively devoid of detail, it was important to examine those items that **were** noted down. For example, one thing that stood out immediately to us was the way that those with formal employment tended not to describe their activities at work in detail, but to simply note the general nature of their employment, the time at which they began work, their tea and meal breaks, and the time when they left work. (This was in contrast to their time away from work, which was usually described in detail.) It was apparent from this which aspects of their day were perceived as standing out - the breaks from work.

Similarly, for those who were not at work, and who left some gaps on their forms, we could tell by looking at what they did choose to note down, what struck them as important. One poignant example was the way in which several of the unemployed wrote that they laid, or "set", the fire in the morning, and then went on to note the times when they "put more coals on the fire", along with a few other incidents, such as having tea and walking the dog. We knew from our general experience of Cauldmoss (and from the replies we received to our question as to what respondents would like more money for at the moment) that the problem of ensuring an adequate supply of fuel is of great concern for the unemployed and the retired; they use coal with care in order to avoid running out before they can afford to buy more. The unemployed also noticed mealtimes, probably because there seemed little else to notice for many of them.

Even where an individual did provide details about what s/he was doing all through the day, it is still interesting to look at the types of activities that are recorded and to consider what has been left out. Many women listed, for example, "setting the table" before dinner on their forms, suggesting that this activity is felt to be of significance. After all, it is something which takes a relatively short time, surely no longer than going to the toilet may do, or brushing one's teeth - things which no one recorded. This suggests that there may have been other very ordinary activities that were omitted too. Another significant activity for mothers seemed to be reading their child a bedtime story.

Each time sheet had to be carefully examined and we then had to use our discretion to

amend sheets to varying degrees, in order to make them comparable. For instance, some individuals provided only the roughest outline of their day, with no indication as to the duration of the activities marked down. In this case, we used other people's sheets to get an idea of the length of time **they** spent on this activity, and then inserted an average figure into the rough outline. Some individuals obviously exaggerated the time they spent on some activities, since, when the amounts of time on the sheet were added up, they totalled more than 24 hours. Again, it was necessary to alter their figures.

Sometimes, it was difficult to know exactly what a description was meant to include. For example, was "getting up", which took half an hour, supposed to indicate the act of lying in bed for 30 minutes after the alarm clock had gone off, or did it refer to getting washed and dressed, where these acts were not specified elsewhere? In several cases, people noted time spent **preparing** a meal, but then there was no indication of them having **eaten** it. (I recognise that women may be making meals that they do not eat themselves, but this anomaly appeared on several of the men's sheets as well.) It seemed that many people ate while watching television, and it was "watching TV" that they considered to be the main thing they were doing. There was a column asking for other activities in which they may have been engaged at the same time, but people did not always fill this in, or they would start off the sheet filling in all the columns and then get tired of this, and just give a general outline by the end of the day.

Once the raw data had been amended in this way, we calculated for every sheet the amount of time spent on each of the following categories of activity:

a) Sleep.
b) Paid employment - this includes all the time spent travelling to and from work, all breaks at work and any time spent on working at home for payment.
c) Domestic work - work in, or for, the house - either the cooking, cleaning and shopping, etc. usually done by women, or "men's work", such as repairing the car and chopping firewood. This category also includes work done in/for someone else's house, if the purpose of the visit to that person was to do this work.
d) Childcare - any time spent looking after, transporting, playing with or helping children, apart from cleaning up after and cooking for them, which are classified under general "domestic work". As one would expect in a traditional community like Cauldmoss, childcare was mainly done by women. However, in our budget sample, there were two men (both unemployed) who included activities we classed as childcare on their forms. One noted transporting his children by car, which does not constitute a startling departure from acceptable "male" activities, but the second man is highly

unusual in that it is he who most often changes and feeds his young baby, rather than his wife.

e) Personal needs - this covers all eating and drinking (apart from meals eaten outside one's own home, or entertaining at home, which come under "leisure"), bathing, dressing, etc.

f) Leisure - far and away the most common leisure activity was watching TV. This category also includes, for example, reading, visiting, going out to pubs, and walking (but not of the dog, which is a necessity and classed as "domestic work", unless a substantial amount of time was spent on it, suggesting that part of the time, at least, was "leisure"). Any housework or cooking done incidentially while visiting someone was classed as "leisure".

g) No activities specified - any amount of time where no activity was described at all. The most extreme case was the unemployed man who had eight hours and 20 minutes missing from his day and who handed over his sheet with the bitter comment,"Ah hope it bores ye sick reading it!".

Such classification systems usually contain ambiguities. In this case, one noticable example was the categorisation of all the time spent on shopping under "domestic work", although it is probable in some cases (such as the teenage girl who spent all Saturday out shopping with her parents) that the respondent was not simply buying household necessities. Similarly, there were two unemployed men who reported spending hours in the local town just wandering about, which they described as shopping, or "getting the messages", even though it also seems to provide some entertainment, albeit somewhat marred by their inability to buy the goods on display.

Even after individual time sheets had been standardised in this way, comparison was not straightforward. Many respondents did provide a sheet showing their activities on a weekday and one covering either a Saturday or Sunday (so that we could compare an individual's time-use on "working" days with that at the weekend). However, many did not. This meant, that although, for example, we had a total sample of nine unemployed men, only four completed both weekday and weekend sheets, while another four gave weekday sheets only, and one man filled in one weekend sheet only.

The time budget survey : sampling and results.

Tables 31 and 32 indicate the average number of hours per day different types of respondents claimed to spend on the activities listed. For the reasons I have just been describing the figures must be treated with caution, principally because of the fact that we

Table 31: Amounts of time women spend on different daily activities, by individual (Time budget)

Activity	Full-time work				Part-time work				Housewives				Retired				Total women			
	Wkday		Wk.end		Wkday		Wk.end		Wkday		Wk.end		Wkday		Wk.end		Weekday		Weekend	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Sleep	8.1	34	8.8	37	7.5	31	7.8	33	9.7	40	9.6	40	8.2	35	5.5	23	8.6	36	8.4	35
Paid employment	9.0	37	0.0	0	3.5	14	1.4	6	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	2.9	12	0.3	1
Domestic work	1.6	7	3.6	15	4.1	17	3.4	14	5.1	21	3.0	13	6.0	25	2.6	11	4.2	17	3.2	13
Childcare	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.8	3	1.0	4	1.8	8	0.9	4	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.9	4	0.5	2
Personal needs	1.5	6	1.5	6	2.3	10	2.0	8	1.3	5	1.0	4	1.7	7	0.9	4	1.6	7	1.3	6
Leisure	2.6	11	9.3	39	4.4	18	6.0	25	5.0	21	7.8	33	6.4	27	14.5	60	4.5	19	8.8	37
No activity specified	1.2	5	0.7	3	1.8	7	2.3	10	1.2	5	1.7	7	1.6	7	0.5	2	1.4	6	1.4	6
Number of daily diaries completed	4		4		9		3		8		5		2		1		23		13	
Sample size	5(25%)				4(20%)				8(40%)				3(15%)				20(100%)			

Notes

No. = average number of hours per day. % = average percentage of time per day.

Table 32: Amounts of time men spend on different daily activities, by individual (Time budget)

Activity	Full-time work				Unemployed				Retired				Total men				Total men and women			
	Wkday		Wk.end		Wkday		Wk.end		Wkday		Wk.end		Wkday		Wk.end[1]		Weekday		Weekend[1]	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Sleep	7.0	29	8.5	35	10.2	42	11.3	47	8.2	34	-	-	8.7	36	10.1	42	8.7	36	9.3	39
Paid employment	10.0	42	1.5	6	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	-	-	3.9	16	0.6	3	3.4	14	0.5	2
Domestic work	2.0	8	4.7	20	3.3	14	2.5	11	1.4	6	-	-	2.6	11	3.5	15	3.4	14	3.3	14
Childcare	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.6	3	0.2	1	0.0	0	-	-	0.3	1	0.1	1	0.6	3	0.3	1
Personal needs	1.5	6	1.7	7	1.4	6	1.2	5	1.4	6	-	-	1.5	6	1.4	6	1.5	6	1.4	6
Leisure	3.1	13	7.3	30	7.1	30	6.7	28	12.0	50	-	-	6.1	25	6.9	29	5.3	22	7.9	33
No activity specified	0.4	2	0.3	1	1.2	5	2.0	8	1.0	4	-	-	0.8	4	1.2	5	1.1	5	1.3	6
Number of daily diaries completed	10		5		13		7		2		0		25		12		48		25	
Sample Size	7(39%)				9(50%)				2(11%)				18(100%)				38			

Notes

No. = average number of hours per day. % = average percentage of time per day.

1 – Total figure for weekend excludes retired men

possessed a very uneven and unrepresentative spread of informants.

The bottom row in each table indicates the proportion of the total sample represented by the number in each subsample. In order to assess how far the sample reflects the population of Cauldmoss, these percentages should be compared to the actual proportion of those subgroups in the population. The larger sample in our second questionnaire suggested that these are as follows:-

Women with full-time employment as percentage of all women over 16	26%
Women with part-time employment	10%
Housewives	38%
Retired Women	18%
Men with full-time employment as percentage of all men over 16	60%
Unemployed Men	23%
Retired Men	11%

It would seem therefore that care is needed in assessing the activities for all men and all women and for the sample as a whole, since the self-selecting sample of those who completed diary sheets is weighted towards the unemployed, and to a lesser extent towards employed women, with employed men being the most underrepresented. Of the 17 women below retirement age, only eight had children (almost all were housewives), which explains the lack of time spent on childcare by employed women. Moreover, the relative proportion of council tenants and owner-occupiers in the time budget sample is 63% and 37% respectively, while the proportion in the population as a whole is 75% and 25%.

It appears from the table that female pensioners spend a far higher proportion of their time on leisure at weekends as compared with other types of women. However, this information on weekends is based on information provided by only one individual, so it is questionable how far her behaviour is typical of other retired women. When it came to male pensioners, we had no diary sheets at all for weekends so that the overall totals presented exclude this group altogether.

With these points in mind we can nevertheless get some indication from these tables of the importance of work and other activities in terms of the amount of time given to them by villagers. The tables also provide another source of information (in addition to our questionnaire results) on the difference between weekday and weekend routines.

Given the bias towards the unemployed in the time budget sample, it is not so surprising to find that for each member of the total sample paid employment takes up on average only a seventh of respondents' time each day during weekdays. As we would expect, however, far less of this type of work was done at weekends, although the amount of domestic work and childcare remains more or less constant throughout the week. (While most of the subsamples do less domestic work at weekends, those in employment do more). In line with the responses to our second questionnaire, we noticed that overall, budget respondents spent more time on sleep and leisure at weekends.

In terms of the difference between male and female budget respondents, on the whole women spent less weekday time than men in both paid employment and on leisure, but more on work "in the hoose". At weekends however, women spent a greater proportion of their time than did men on leisure and slightly less on domestic work. On the whole men increased the time during which they slept, pursued leisure activities and did household chores at weekends, compared to during the week. Women on the whole appear to sleep slightly less at weekends (though this result is biased by the large difference in weekday /weekend sleep times reported by one retired female). They do less work in the house, and they seem to enjoy considerably more leisure at weekends.

Chapter Six contains an analysis of the results of the time budget survey in terms of differences between subsamples based on employmemt status. It also contains reference to some of the results of the money budget survey.

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